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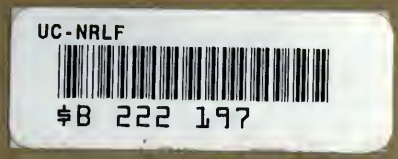

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Workers' Education

REVISED EDITION

AMERICAN EXPERIMENTS

(WITH A FEW FOREIGN EXAMPLES)

By

ARTHUR GLEASON

of the

Bureau of Industrial Research

289 Fourth Avenue

New York

Fifty Cents a Copy

15

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The Bureau of Industrial Research
289 *Fourth Avenue*
New York

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(June 25th, 1921)

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FOREWORD

This pamphlet was never intended for anything but a tentative first word. That even this imperfect thing was wanted is shown by the 4000 requests for it, already received. It ought now to be run out of existence by a full length study of the field.

The getting together of this second edition is due to the devoted work of Abraham Epstein and Frank Anderson.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

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Chapter I

WORKERS' EDUCATION

THE way a group of grown persons best educate each other is in the method used by Socrates and his friends. It is the way of endless discussion centering on one subject. It is almost the hardest work in the world. The results are sometimes amazing. A grown man discovers he is beginning to grow again. Endless discussion about one subject can not maintain itself on words. It dies away unless it feeds on knowledge and finally interpretation. It reaches out for facts and then for the meaning of them. In modern terms, this Socratic method means a class of from five to twenty-five, who read books, listen to talks, and ask questions. They take to themselves a like-minded teacher, who is a good fellow, and together they work regularly and hard. This is the heart of workers' education—the class financed on trade union money, the teacher a comrade, the method discussion, the subject the social sciences, the aim an understanding of life and the remoulding of the scheme of things. Where that dream of a better world is absent, adult workers' education will fade away in the loneliness and rigor of the effort.

But there is no one road to freedom. There are roads to freedom. So workers' education will include elementary classes in English, and entertainment for the crowd. But the road for the leaders of the people will be straight and hard. Only a few thousand out of the millions will take it. It is a different, a new way of life to which the worker is being called.

Definition.

Workers' (or labor) Education (except for the resident college) falls inside the classification of Adult Education. But it is its own kind of adult education, and is not to be confused with university extension, evening high schools, night schools, public lectures and forums, Chautauquas, "Americanization," education by employers,

and Y. M. C. A. industrial courses. Labor education is inside the labor movement, and can not be imposed from above or from without. It is a training in the science of reconstruction. It is a means to the liberation of the working class, individually and collectively. In pursuing that aim, it uses all aids that will enrich the life of the group and of the worker in the group, and that will win allegiance of the worker to the group. The aim then is clear-cut, but the content and the methods are catholic. Workers' education is scientific and cultural, propagandist and civic, industrial and social. It concerns itself with the individual and his needs, the citizen and his duties, the trade unionist and his functions, the group and its problems, the industry and its conditions.

The best recent summary of workers' education is that of Dr. Harry Laidler:—

> If the object of a workers' educational experiment were to give the worker greater power of enjoyment here and now; or to develop his ability to think fundamentally on social problems; or to help him to function more effectively as a citizen in the solution of social problems; or to equip him to fight effectively for immediate improvement in the conditions of labor; to train him as a leader in the trade union movement; to interpret to him his place in the scheme of things; to give impetus to his demand for a new order of society; to develop his sense of loyalty to his economic organization—if the aim were any one of these things—I believe that that aim would be a legitimate aim of workers' education.

Education, says Graham Wallas, is "a process by which human beings so acquire the knowledge and habits which constitute civilization as to be fitted to live well both individually and in cooperation." That which distinguishes labor education in this process are the experiences of the workers and the conditions of industry.

"Control."

Workers' education as it develops will be financed on workers' money, controlled (in the sense of policy) and managed (in the sense of administration), by workers' organizations. It is idle to debate whether workers' education can be controlled by others than the workers. It can not be. Controlled by "public" authorities, by universities, by middle-class persons, it is adult education. It is education. It is useful. But it is not workers' education. Workers'

education can no more be outside the labor movement than a trade union. It is as definite an expression of the labor movement as the trade union. When the union is guided by outside benefactors it becomes a "company" union, a welfare club. When education of the workers is controlled by other organizations than the organization of the workers, it remains inside the category of adult education, but it passes out of that special kind of adult education which is workers' education.

Varieties.

In the United States there may be one kind of education for a particular racial group. There will be regional solutions, local experiments, experiments in a given industry. Our infinite variety of life and our wide spaces will demand a multitude of experiments.

The peasant and cooperative background of Denmark results in a workers' education of the folk high schools, which is possible perhaps for certain Middle Western groups in our country, but which is not universally possible.

The healthy and balanced growth of the three-fold labor movement of Belgium—the trade unions, the labor party, the cooperatives —and the compactness of the Kingdom enable the workers to make a neater classification of needs and to federate the solutions into a single central national administrative body, which would break down among our mountains or seep away upon the prairies.

The salty individualism of the British, with their fundamental unity of consciousness, permits them to make untidy unrelated experiments in workers' education, all moving in the one direction, although unaware of its goal. A loose but deeply grounded scholarship of the young university men finds ready alliance with the instinctive drive of the workers toward a fuller life.

No such casual unprogrammed adventure into the universe is possible with our practical pragmatic American business unions. We shall demand clear statements of where we are going. There will be dozens of experiments, but each will keep a ledger of exact results.

Already the American experiments have been of many kinds. They have been state-aided, university-aided, independent of state and university.

There has been education for labor given by wealthy benevolent trustees, as in the Cooper Union. There has been the Rand School on a party basis. There have been schools organized on the basis of the consumers, as the schools of the cooperatives.

There have been schools for the groups of producers: a single union, like the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; groups of unions as the United Labor Education Committee; the Central Labor Body of a city, as the Trade Union College of Boston; the State Federation of Labor, as in Pennsylvania.

Next Steps.

Much of the early work of American labor education will concern itself with elementary and secondary courses in such subjects as English writing and speaking. Because of the racial and immigration problems, there is no general level of adult attainment. Labor groups differ in ability to read and write, and to read, write and speak English. Until this deficiency is met, there can be but little useful work done in such courses as history and economics. As long as immigration brings a new group each year, classes in English, elementary mathematics and so on, will be necessary. These classes absorb a large proportion of the energy of American workers' education. Already many of these adult elementary classes are taught in public buildings by public school teachers. It is probable that this sort of education will be increasingly taken over by public authorities. This will leave the business of workers' education to the workers. The objects, methods and materials of what is meant by workers' education will be outlined in the next pages.

Workers' education, as it spreads, is of course vitally concerned with facts in the social sciences. It is concerned with the collection, classification and interpretation of these facts. This means that labor education requires labor research. One of the continuous and all-powerful influences in workers' education is the newspaper. Labor education requires the labor paper. So as fast as labor education grows, there will spring up, out of the same root, labor research and the labor newspaper. Research is one of the sources of supply for education. The daily, weekly and monthly paper is one of the methods of imparting education to the workers. The labor movement

will remain inside the squirrel-cage of wages and prices, until it employs all three—research, education, and the newspaper.

Charles Beard once said:

"The modern university does not have for its major interest and prime concern the free, open and unafraid consideration of modern issues."

The labor group is beginning to demand a free, open and unafraid consideration of modern issues in institutions of its own.

Object. Group I.

What is the object of workers' education? One object is to train promising youths, who are already officials, or are potential leaders, or are the most ambitious of the rank and file. Workers' education will train them in the technique of their particular union and industry. It will train them in the relation of that union and industry to society and the state. This kind of workers' education gives the technique of leadership. It includes courses in labor law, the use of the injunction, workmen's compensation, industrial and health insurance, unemployment, Federal agencies of inspection, employers' use of a secret service, duties of the walking delegate. Perhaps eventually place can be found in the curriculum for a course or courses dealing with aspects of the problem of management and production. Although it is inevitable that present interest in these questions should be slight, it seems equally inevitable that the leaders among the workers must more and more equip themselves with knowledge of the technique of their industry on both its administrative and its operative side. And this can be directly encouraged if an expository and critical course on managerial procedure is offered. The content of a course on modern personnel administration would, for example, come to have a wide appeal and a great practical value. As the subject of "workers' control" demands a knowledge of the functions of foreman, superintendent and technician, and a knowledge of the whole administrative area, it will become increasingly necessary for the advanced labor leader to study the shifting "frontier of control." Once the institution is under way, there will be no difficulty in selecting students for this first group. Only those will be admitted who have gone through certain courses. At first, the leader will have to

select by guess work. He will use his judgment, admitting those "who are sufficiently interested and willing to try." They will drop out quickly, under the more intensive and stiff regime, if their equipment is faulty, and their devotion languid.

Object. Group II.

A second object of workers' education is to give the more eager of the rank and file a social or civic education. These courses will show the workers how they are governed. They will deal with the economic system under which they work, and the nature of the world in which they find themselves. They will include general cultural courses in history, economics and literature. The thing aimed at is a world view. The favorite courses remain history, economics, literature, because they are an interpretation of man in his world. Once the full circle is drawn, then, into a segment is packed the consideration of a single subject, such as the Greek Commonwealth, or the Agrarian Problem of the Sixteenth Century. Education is "the effort of the soul to find a true expression or interpretation of experience, and to find it, not alone, but with the help of others, fellow-students." By showing to a man his place in the long process and the scheme of things, education helps him to live the good life.

The rank and file will not be interested in this kind of labor education for many years. The most alert and energetic men and women will alone be attracted. Labor education is education of a tiny minority, the most promising of the youth.

Object. Group III.

A third object of workers' education is to reach the rank and file with education for the love of it, with semi-entertainment with a cultural slant. Its aim is mass education.

Method. Groups I and II.

Methods in workers' education depend on objects. If the object is to train leaders and to give the ambitious minority of the rank and file an intensive education, then the method will be that of the small class and hard work. Education for these groups is for those only who feel a desire, and have some sense of the direction they wish to

travel. The experiment will begin with three or four in the class, and with meager funds. If correctly grounded, it will grow slowly. Only at the end of some years will the experiment show results large enough to attract outside attention and public ceremonies. No short cuts and no brass bands will lead to workers' education of this intensive kind. This education is self-education. It is not by chance and happy blunder that workers' education rediscovered the ancient and correct *method* of teaching—the Socratic quiz, the question-and-answers discussion. The workers recaptured this method through necessity. The miner and railwayman, adult and having knowledge of life, would not submit to the autocracy of orthodox teachers. A "grown man" or woman will not sit silently each week for several years while a lecturer or an orator holds the platform. Each one of the group insists on contributing. University extension courses, night schools, Chautauquas, civic and church forums, mass meetings with star speakers, concerts, theatricals, are not the method of labor education of this kind. Labor education is intensive work on one subject carried on by a small class (5 to 25).

Opportunities for actual industrial responsibility are given by the duties of shop chairman, shop committee, and by the organization of cooperative establishments. This practice is of course an essential of education.

Method. Group III.

One method of reaching the rank and file, as yet unawakened, is by semi-entertainment. Various devices for stirring desire for education will be used. Bribes and lures will be applied. A beautiful actress will recite Shakespeare. A full orchestra will find "The Lost Chord." Moving pictures, lantern slides, charts, budgets, maps, and other graphic representations, will be used. Three-quarters of the time will be used in attracting people. The other quarter will contain some bit of information. Out of these mass efforts will come individuals, asking for help in the rudiments of mathematics, in the English language. Classes will be formed to meet the two-fold need of those who never had an elementary education, and those who find that an elementary education has left them uneducated. Mass education by mass semi-entertainment will contribute to solidarity and

enthusiasm, which may later lead to intensive education by the class-and-discussion method for a small minority.

The question is asked:

If young people received a full and good elementary and secondary education, would there be need of workers' adult education? The answer is that the desire for adult education grows keener as the elementary education is more widely spread and more thorough. A well-instructed group of workers, twenty-five years old, will be eager for adult education. An illiterate group, or a group numbed by drink, will be hostile to class work. Also, a group of half-educated youths, fed on dogmas and preconceived notions and picturesque phrases dealing with catastrophic changes and millennial hopes, will be superior to education, to careful analysis, to surveys of fact.

A thoughtful paper on mass education has been written by J. M. Budish, of the United Labor Education Committee. He writes that the subjects included in the curriculum should be (1) Natural Sciences, (2) Social Sciences, (3) Cultural Elements. He suggests that:—

> The shop meeting reaches more workers than any other union activity. About 75% of the members attend. If the technique of the shop and the routine shop problems are made an approach to the study of the structure of the industry as a whole and then of the inter-relation of industries, the shop has become a "project."
>
> In local union lectures it is possible to reach about 10% of the union membership. As in any organization, an active minority of 10% hold office, work on committees and attend business meetings. The series of lectures must at least at first be closely related to the pressing trade union problems of today: the abuse of injunctions, the open shop campaign, the shop chairman movement.
>
> The official journals or endorsed papers are a neglected educational medium.
>
> The W. E. B. (Workers' Education Bureau) should create pamphlets to serve as a basis for shop and class room use.
>
> Personal guidance in reading may be given by the more advanced students and by a librarian as well as by teachers. The sense which fits reading to readers must be enlisted for workers' education. The worker must be taught how to handle books, use indexes, select what he wants, taught to digest and assimiliate material found in libraries. Bring traveling libraries of say 50 selected volumes into the shops, the trade union meetings, and the classes.

It has been suggested that workers' education should be made compulsory for new members, for apprentices, and for officials. At best, this could only be done in certain unions. At worst there are possibilities of abuse. In any case, the suggestion calls for long consideration.

TEACHERS

In Britain the success of workers' education was due to men like R. H. Tawney, J. J. Mallon, Arthur Greenwood, Alfred Zimmern. The type is neither the smart brisk young tutor who patronizes nor the bearded professor who is dogmatic. The type is that of humble-minded scholarship set in charming democratic personality. American colleges do not as yet produce this type in numbers. The workers' teacher is a rare person. The only method as yet used for finding him is to bring normal school and university-trained teachers into contact with labor groups, and to winnow out the teacher who catches hold. The balanced qualities, which give clear exposition and suffer heckling gladly and call out group discussion, can only be revealed in practice. No technique of normal school training alone will produce the man who can interpret experience to a labor group, although something can be done through normal classes to show the prospective teacher how material may be simply prepared, and presented in the method of group discussion. The suggestion has been made that a local association of teachers could call a conference of themselves and local trade union leaders on workers' education. If both elements cooperated, classes would be an immediate result. One American teachers' union numbering 1,000 was called on for teachers for workers' education. Two persons were available. But two are a beginning in a new work.

One experiment in workers' education has found that teachers in secondary schools were more successful than university professors. In this experiment, the language used was simpler, the understanding of the group mind was more complete.

Increasingly, teachers will come out of the ranks of the workers. Even the best of the university men retain a methodology and a mental habit of their group, and insensibly swing workers' education to their ideas of what it ought to be. It is not the function of the educator to lead labor along the lines of his preconceived judgment

of the proper destiny of labor. Rather, it is his job to walk humbly into that new world of experience, conditions and ideas, to be more concerned with discovery than exhortation, more concerned with the definition and interpretation of labor to itself than with the superimposition of his learning or his policy. The teacher is the psychoanalyst, revealing by discussion what the workers want.

The teacher will be forced to use a new way of teaching. If he does not, his class will die on his hands. The old text-books are no good for his group. The class-room method will not "work." The subject material (of abstract economics, for instance) will not hold attention.

The teacher will avoid mass meetings, advertising what he is going to do. The little class seems lonesome after a mass meeting. He will make his appeal by pamphlets, bulletins, syllabi of courses. He will speak to every sort of workers' meeting. He will speak to trade unions' locals, district conferences, state federation conferences. He will begin his experiment small in one place. If successful, it will do much of its own advertising and publicity work. Its students and graduates become the promoters of workers' education. A regular bulletin or leaflet or magazine organ will gradually become necessary.

The lesson will be slowly learned that working class education costs in money and time; especially, that it must pay its way in point of adequate compensation for teachers. It is idle to hope that a permanent teaching staff of the right calibre can be built on the tag ends of busy people's time, for which a nominal fee is paid. This kind of educational work requires special ability, extended preparation and follow-up. On the other hand, successful experiments in labor education have been made by the equal and enthusiastic early sacrifices of both workers and teachers. Only gradually have the experiments been able to take over the full time or even a remunerative half-time of the teacher. All such effort in beginning is dependent on a fund of patient idealism. As the need and the appeal become clearer it is probable that a group of teachers will respond in this country as they have elsewhere.

What is immediately needed is the asking and answering of some simple questions in methods of class procedure. There should be an

exchange of experiences by teachers of labor. What presentation interested the class? Can the social sciences be presented visually and pictorially as the physical sciences are? How can graphs, charts, slides, photographs, maps, be used? Is the discussion a question and answer from the beginning? Or does the teacher lead off for a half hour? Does the teacher use his high-school technique? Or is there a new and different technique for labor education? How can sound fact-foundations be laid in minds, untrained, or weary, or indifferent, or dreaming of world-revolution?

TEXT-BOOKS

It is not by chance that workers' education altered the subject-matter, the content, of the teaching. Fresh from first-hand experience of danger, monotony, and the workings of the industrial system, labor rejects the abstractions of academic political economy, and the purple chronicle of kings in history. They want to know the adventure of the common man down the ages. This means re-writing the text-books. The workers are forcing the experts to rewrite them. The secretary of the British Labor College writes us (in November of 1920):

> "Those experts. We've been battling with them for three months now, trying to bully or cajole them into Simplicity of Language, Abolition of Technical Treatment, Definiteness in the Statement of Established Results of their Sciences, Conciseness. We want a book on their subjects of 150 to 200 pages. They want to supply a self-contained library, mainly technical, with ill-defined co-ordination of results, and precious little relation to a continuous unfolding of natural social phenomena."

Text-books are needed in all subjects—in technique of leadership, civic culture, in American industrial history, in trade union and labor history, in political history, in economic geography, and so on. Text-books for American workers' education have not been written. Sound scholarship, simple statement, clear English, cheap price, are the requirements. The probable line of procedure here is that after discussion the teacher will draw up an outline of his course. This outline will grow into leaflets; the leaflets into pamphlets; the pamphlets into a text-book. The text-book, then, will be written by a teacher of workers' classes, and will be an answer to the needs of the group.

The pamphlet will be a valuable instrument in workers' education, as in other enterprises of social change. The pamphlet is read where the book is neglected. The pamphlet is remembered and kept, where the newspaper is thrown away and forgotten. Pamphleteering has been an unknown art until Upton Sinclair, Scott Nearing, Paul Blanshard and a few others began to discover its carrying power. Pamphlets are immediately needed for workers' educational groups on such subjects as "Unemployment," "Labor Education and What It Could Mean," "What Is a Trade Union College?" "How to Start a Trade Union College," and on 50 other subjects.

At the end of this pamphlet will be found a list of books and pamphlets which have proved useful in workers' classes.

What seems agreed on as texts immediately needed are a dynamic history of the American trade union movement; an American industrial history; a syllabus on industrial history; a syllabus on the American labor movement; a text on workers' education, which will contain the experience of teachers in presentation of material, and the whole technique of teaching workers' groups.

One of the teachers in the Pennsylvania workers' classes, C. J. Hendley, writes us:—

> My notion of a labor class text-book is that it should be a pocket size volume, containing about twelve lessons of, say, twenty pages each; that it should be written in a style that would lure the student to further reading; that it should contain detailed references and directions for more thorough study; and that it should be developed inductively from familiar facts and concrete data to general principles. Simplicity and clearness would be of paramount importance in such literature. It should be written with the unsophisticated and uneducated workingman kept in mind. I think our texts should treat ostensibly the commonplace problems that the average serious-minded workman faces in his every-day work, but in reality introducing him to great principles and ideals of social and economic progress,—not mere propaganda for any particular doctrine, but an appeal to what is sanest and noblest in the human mind.

The Ladies' Garment Workers report on this need:—

> The International was confronted with the problem of text-books, because most of the available text-books are written either for college or high school students or for children in the elementary schools. To solve this problem it was decided to have the teachers prepare pamphlets on the subject-matter of their courses. These are published by the

Educational Department and sold to members at a minimum cost. These pamphlets will be used as text-books by the classes, since teachers who have had experience with workers' classes are best fitted to write text-books for them.

A first need of many experiments in workers' education is that of an outline of present-day civilization. The student wishes to know about the world and his own place in it. He wishes to know nature and human nature,—about climate and the location of food, coal, iron ore, oil, rubber, copper; and how these physical features and natural resources react on man with his bundle of instincts. The student wishes to know what are the problems of today, and what intellectual tools exist for grappling with them.

A brave attempt to make this outline of present-day civilization has been published by a group of Columbia instructors. It is called "Introduction to Contemporary Civilization—A Syllabus" (Columbia University). It is faulty in such omissions as a proper consideration of workers' education. The suggested reading is not generally adapted to workers' groups (of course it does not pretend to be). But the Syllabus affords a working answer to the need of many group leaders in labor education.

Chapter II

AMERICAN EXPERIMENTS

National Women's Trade Union League.

A Training School for Women Labor Leaders was established by the National Women's Trade Union League as early as 1913, under the leadership of Mrs. Raymond Robins. This was the first labor school to give a full year's training and field work to its students. The school is supported out of the general funds of the organization with occasional scholarships contributed. The Educational Department of the National Women's Trade Union League endeavors to provide training and an opportunity to study to the girl who wants to become an organizer or active worker in the labor movement. Scholarships are open to the trade union woman who has had some actual experience in the management of her own union or has helped to organize the workers in her own trade. The girls who attend the training school are generally recruited from two groups—first, those who have shown ability as organizers are chosen by their own organization and are sent to the School on a scholarship and they return to work with the union after completion of the course. The second group is made up of girls who while at work have awakened to a sense of their own capacity for leadership, and who write the school asking for a scholarship to enable them to take the training and gain the practical experience that they need.

The regular term of training is twelve months. A four-months' course is arranged for trained organizers who, while they do not need the field work, which is organizing practice, are interested in the academic studies. An allowance of $18 a week is made each student to cover her living expenses while in the school. The student is supposed to arrive in good physical condition. The student's railroad fare is paid from her home to the National Office in Chicago, where the year's training is given, and her return is arranged for.

The academic work includes the following courses: Industrial History, with the rise of labor organizations—trade unions, Judicial Decisions Affecting Labor, Trade Agreements in Theory and Prac-

tice, History of Women in Industry and the Organization Movement Among Women, Current Events, Social Economics, Public Speaking, English, Bookkeeping, Typing, Filing and Office Practice, and Parliamentary Law.

Most of the classes in labor history and public speaking are conducted in cooperation with the University of Chicago. Special courses are arranged so that the students may hear the leading trade union men and women of the country.

The time of active practice includes experience in organization work of all kinds. Arrangements are made so that students may have an opportunity to handle every type of work and every emergency. The field work is done under the advice and direction of competent leaders.

Since the establishment of the training school, although the number of students who attended the school was not large, most of the graduates are now taking a very active and prominent part in the different women's trade union organizations.

The National Women's Trade Union League has also conducted classes in conjunction with the Chicago Federation of Labor, and the local Women's Trade Union League and with the cooperation of the local Board of Education. They conducted three classes last year in English, Public Speaking, and Parliamentary Law. The Public Speaking class was the most successful one with an average attendance of twenty students. Several business agents were members of the class. Extensive plans for next year's work are now being formulated.

Alice Henry has been Secretary of the Educational Department of the National Women's Trade Union League of America.

International Ladies' Garment Workers.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union as a union has been "the pioneer in education in the labor movement of America." But there had been many efforts before its experiment. These were not of the same character in aims and purposes, but attempted to reach the same groups. There were a Workers' School, the Workers' Educational League, the Thomas Davidson School, the

Bread Winners' or Wage Earners' College, the Jewish Workers' League, the Workmen's Circle. And since 1906 the Rand School of Social Science had been preparing the ground in New York. The Rand lectures and classes reached many persons in the clothing industry.

The idea underlying the educational work of the International is expressed in the following statement which appears in the announcement of courses given by the Educational Department:

> The work of the Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U. is based on a conviction that the aims and aspirations of the workers can be realized only through their own efforts in the economic and educational fields. While organization gives them power, education gives them the ability to use that power intelligently and effectively.
>
> The courses offered by the Educational Department are planned to accomplish this aim. While some of them are intended to satisfy the intellectual and the emotional needs of workers, the main emphasis is laid on those which meet their practical needs. The problems of the labor movement are analyzed and clarified by the study of general principles underlying them. In this way is it possible to train fresh energy, new experiences and power for the service of the International and of the entire Labor Movement of America, and to help our members to achieve their purposes with the ultimate goal of living a full, rich and happy life.

A start was made when the 1914 Cleveland Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union appropriated $1,500 for educational activities. The International cooperated with the Rand School of Social Science, where special classes were organized for members. In 1915, the Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local 25 (a local of the International), of New York City, organized its own educational activities and concentrated them in a public school building under the name of Unity Center. The work was started in cooperation with the New York Board of Education. The understanding was that the Board of Education was to assign teachers of English for special classes organized for Garment Workers members only. In addition to that, courses were arranged on different subjects. Teachers were paid by the Union.

At the Philadelphia Convention of 1916 the question of labor education was more seriously taken up, and it was decided that the International appoint a committee of five, and that a fund of $5,000 be

placed at the disposal of this committee, to be spent for educational activities. The committee accepted the plan of the Waist Makers and opened a few Unity Centers, thus laying a foundation for the Workers' University, which was opened in the Washington Irving High School in New York. The work was directed by the committee with Vice-President Fannia M. Cohn as Secretary, and with Miss Juliet Stuart Poyntz as Educational Director. To the Boston Convention in 1918, the Educational Committee presented a report of its accomplishments, which was heartily endorsed by the delegates assembled. The General Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was instructed to spend $10,000 yearly to carry on the work of education.

At present, the International conducts three distinct lines of educational work: the Unity Centers, the Workers' University and the Extension Work. The business agents, other officers, and members of the rank and file of the local unions attend classes. The Chicago Convention of 1920 appropriated $15,000 for these educational activities. But actually a larger sum is expended.

Unity Centers

An important branch of educational activities is the Unity Center. At present there are seven Unity Centers in Public School Buildings in the different parts of New York where members reside. Since most of the members of the I. L. G. W. U. are of foreign birth and come from non-English-speaking countries, the study of English is an essential subject in their curriculum. Therefore, in each Unity Center there are classes in English, of elementary, intermediate, advanced and high school grade. The teachers are assigned by the Evening School Department of the Board of Education. In each Unity Center there is a supervisor assigned by the Department of Community and Recreation Centers of the Board of Education. These local supervisors give weekly physical training lessons. The International arranges independently courses on the Labor Movement, Trade Unionism, and Economics. The rest of the curriculum deals with Health, or subjects of more cultural interest, such as Literature, Music, Art, Educational Films, and talks on vital subjects. To make the lessons more profitable, the teachers prepare outlines of each lesson; these contain the topics to be discussed and questions designed

to stimulate further thought. The outlines are distributed among the students, who preserve them. They serve to recall to the students the subject-matter discussed in the class. They are also sent to Local Unions outside of New York, with the hope that these will arrange similar courses. In New York the Unity Centers have about 2,000 pupils. These Centers are a method of getting large groups of workers to receive instruction in subjects of importance.

Workers' University

The Workers' University consists of a number of classes conducted in the Washington Irving High School on Saturday afternoons and Sunday mornings. These classes attract members of the International who have already had some instruction in the social sciences. The courses are of a more advanced character and the teachers are generally specialists in their field. The main emphasis is placed on social sciences. As in the Unity Centers, the students receive an outline of each lesson. These outlines constitute a syllabus of the course and are preserved by the students for further reference and study.

The field of instruction covers courses in Trade Union Policy, Current Economic Literature, Current Economic Opinion, Current Labor and Economic Problems, The Cooperative Movement, Economic Geography, Applied Psychology and Logic, Sociology, History of Civilization, Modern Literature and Public Speaking. Discussions by specialists are arranged for the classes on Current Labor Problems, such as on the Steel Industry and the Steel Strike, the Coal Mining Situation, the British Labor Situation Today, the Shop Steward Movement, the Plumb Plan, etc. In the classes in Trade Unionism special reference is made to the problems of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

As in the Unity Centers, there is no cost to members of the International, and members of other unions are admitted free after arrangement with the Union. Practically all students who register complete the work.

Extension Division

The Extension Division provides education for large numbers of the membership. It organizes not only special classes to which all members are invited, but also concerts and other entertainments.

These are very popular with the membership. For their convenience many of the lectures are given at the business meetings of the various locals of the organization. The subjects are such as the Problems of the Modern Trade Union with special reference to their own International, New Tendencies in the Organized Labor Movement in the U. S., Trade Unionism and Collective Bargaining, the Industrial and Political Struggles of Organized Labor, the Place of Organized Workers in Modern Society, the Cooperative Movement and Trade Unionism, etc.

Lectures on Health are given by physicians, with particular attention to problems of home and shop hygiene.

During strikes, lectures are given to groups of organized and unorganized workers.

The activities of the Extension Division are growing. The International hopes to provide educational activities for every group of its large membership.

In connection with all the courses, books are recommended for reading and study and are obtained for the workers by the Educational Department at reduced prices.

Branches of the Workers' University were established in Cleveland and Philadelphia. By special arrangement, members of the International attend classes in the Trade Union College of Boston. The Union pays their fees.

Conscious of the fact that the social factor plays an important part in creating solidarity, the Educational Department organizes concerts, entertainments, visits to museums, hikes, social gatherings, etc., for the students. These are attended largely and serve to bring together for social as well as educational purposes many members of the International. The International does not attempt directly to satisfy the desire for music and drama on the part of its members. But it realizes that such a desire is very important and must be gratified, if the life of workers is to be full and rich. Arrangements are therefore made with the National Symphony Orchestra, the Theatre Guild, the Jewish Art Theatre and other similar musical and dramatic organizations for reduced price tickets for the members of the International.

Other Features

The educational work is conducted by the Department after numerous consultations, meetings and conferences with educational committees of local unions, students' councils and the faculty. In this way, the work is conducted democratically, and what is most important, is vitalized by being continually adjusted to meet the real demands of the rank and file of the membership.

One of the results of the educational activities was a movement among the members to beautify their homes. This movement culminated in the establishment of Summer Unity Homes.

The first is one of the achievements of the 30,000 members of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union of New York, and was purchased by the union at the cost of about $100,000. It is located in Pennsylvania and was known formerly as the Forest Park House, a summer resort for wealthy people. The Unity Village contains a main building, and twelve adjoining cottages, surrounded by gardens and forests, and equipped with all the conveniences that one could desire. Last summer 500 of the workers came out weekly.

The Philadelphia Waistmakers, an organization of 5,000 young women, purchased their Unity House and spent about $50,000 upon it so far. In addition, the Philadelphia Waist and Dressmakers' Union has its own lunchroom, located in a building in the heart of the business section of the city. There members are served wholesome food at the lowest possible price. Like many other local garment unions, it has a good library, containing almost 3,000 books.

The latest Unity Home was opened on June 4, 1921, at Midland Beach, Staten Island, by the Italian Waist and Dressmakers' Union of New York.

The movement among local unions for establishing country Unity Homes is of practical value. In the first place, it combines the methods of the Cooperative Movement with those of Trade Unions. It shows what can be accomplished in the cooperative field, if the effort is coordinated with the interests of trade unions. Furthermore, it gives an opportunity to energetic members to receive a practical education in building and supervising enterprises. Every Unity Home is under the general supervision of a sub-committee of the Executive Board.

The work of this union in education has proved to be so sound that the views of the Secretary of the Educational Department, Miss Fannia M. Cohn, are worth recording:

The necessity for creating the proper atmosphere in the classrooms should be emphasized. The upper and middle classes appreciate this fact and are as much concerned with the *social life* of their students as with the academic subjects. We, too, should be concerned with it if we want to attract the younger element.

Once for all, we should agree that *workers' education must be financed by workers themselves,* either through their local or international unions, by their central labor bodies, or partly through tuition fees. But in the main, workers' education must be financed by workers.

It must be *managed and directed by the workers.* Please do not misunderstand me. In no way do we exclude teachers and intellectuals who are coming over to our side. We welcome them to our ranks. But in order that the workers' psychology and point of view be emphasized everywhere, that the interests of the Labor Movement be held before us constantly, the work must be managed by those in the movement who are qualified to do so.

This means that *in addition to expert teachers, active union workers* who are fitted for the task, *will direct the work.* This *dual management* is very vital to the work of Workers' Education. For this work requires not merely a knowledge of education, but also a first-hand knowledge of *labor and its problems,* and particularly a knowledge of the *psychology of the workers* among whom the work is to be done. Such management can be coordinated with the needs of the Labor Movement.

It is important that the teacher, no matter how qualified he is to teach workers, should not be left alone to the students. The persons in charge should always try to interpret to the teachers the psychology, aims and aspirations of the pupils,—to acquaint them with the surroundings, with the conditions under which the students live and work, what books they read, where they derive their inspirations and, on the other hand, to keep in touch with the students to help them understand what the teacher has not made clear.

Academic qualifications are not the only essentials which the teacher must have in order to be successful in Trade Union classes. The teachers must be acquainted with the aims of the Labor Movement, with the daily problems which it is called upon to solve. He must understand that the Movement does not deal with theories only, but mainly with facts and conditions. This again requires the assistance of a practical and intelligent trade unionist who knows the movement thoroughly.

We realize that no plan for organizing educational activities can be successful unless it is expressed in something more than the establish-

ment of institutions like the Unity Centers and Workers' University. The plan must *produce a mental attitude,* which in turn would create a movement for workers' education within the trade union movement. The question has come up in our work how to accomplish this. We resolved that the only way to make a success of our activities is by directing all our energies and attention to the rank and file. We believe that if they will be impressed with the necessity for workers' education, and if they will become imbued with the ideal and conviction that "Knowledge is power," and that with the "Accumulation of knowledge the world is theirs," then, and only then, will we be on the road to success.

One page of our weekly papers, published in English, Yiddish and Italian, is devoted to the work of our Educational Department. These papers are sent to the home of every worker. Notices of our activities also appear in the daily English, Yiddish and Italian press which is read by our members.

We find that we reach our membership most effectively by coming into personal touch with them. We try to stimulate in them a desire for education and then we try to satisfy that desire. *We speak at shop meetings,* which are held almost every night, describing our plan of education. *We address business meetings* of the unions. We arrange gatherings from time to time, at which assemble large numbers of members, whom we try to interest in our work. *Leaflets* and other literature are mailed to their homes.

The student body in a workers' college must understand that the benefit derived from the time and effort spent in education, will depend not so much on the knowledge received in the classroom as upon practical familiarity with the labor movement and upon the experience derived from active participation in the life of their organization.

Those in charge of labor colleges must realize that the hope of the labor movement lies in the increasing intelligence of the rank and file. Education and information must be the cornerstone of the society of the future. It is the intelligent citizenship in the unions—the rank and file—that will bring about an intelligent leadership. Hence, it must be understood that a workers' college must organize activities for every group —for those who know very little as well as those who are advanced—for those who are the present leaders or will be the future leaders of the organization.

The work of the Educational Department is directed by Fannia M. Cohn, secretary, and Alexander Fichandler, educational director.

Local 25

The Ladies' Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local 25, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, has its own Depart-

ment of Education and Organization, which cooperates with the International. It was this local under Juliet Stuart Poyntz which initiated the "Unity Center" plan of labor education. Local 25 has its own educational director, Elsie Glück. Miss Glück keeps the local in close touch with the educational program of the International. The local's Educational Department carries intensive advocacy of education into the shops and district meetings. The educational office is located in local headquarters, so that, as members pay their dues, they can be approached on the educational program.

Local entertainment work includes monthly concerts and entertainments; unemployment entertainments; and strike concerts and classes.

The Unity House of Local 25 has been described above.

The members have a library, containing several thousand books.

The local educational work has always been closely bound up with the organization work of the Union.

United Labor Education Committee.

The initiators of the United Labor Education Committee in 1918 were the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, at whose call all the conferences preliminary to the establishment of the Committee were held. Among the organizations affiliated at the beginning were the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. They have recently separated from the Committee in order to establish their own educational department.

Although the impulse for the Education Committee came from the needle trades unions, the educational work soon spread to other unions. At the present writing, thirty labor organizations are affiliated with the United Labor Education Committee. These include such organizations as the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity, the Women's Trade Union League, the International Fur Workers' Union, the Workmen's Circle, the Teachers' Union and the United Hebrew Trades. Two locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are cooperating with the U. L. E. C. Other unions affiliated include workers engaged in the metal trades, food industries, clerical and amusement trades.

The U. L. E. C., perhaps more than any other labor educational enterprise, has emphasized mass education. Among the activities the

U. L. E. C. arranges for its affiliated organizations are included: (1) Lectures at the local union meetings; (2) Classes for the general membership, for shop chairmen, active members and officials; (3) Strike Service (making use of the leisure of strikers for education and recreation); (4) Slack service (for the unemployed during industrial depression); (5) Forums; (6) Recreation Centers, Drama, Educational Moving Pictures; (7) The Committee helps locals to arrange their benefit performances at the lowest cost and in order to make them more educational.

To join the United Labor Education Committee, an organization has to pay an affiliation fee of $15.00 and monthly dues as follows: Locals with a membership up to 300 pay $5 per month; over 300 and not over 1,000, pay $10; over 1,000 pay $10 for the first thousand and $5 for every additional thousand or fraction thereof; no local to pay more than $40 per month.

Every local union has equal rights and obligations in the U. L. E. C. The Committee accepts no financial contributions from individuals nor from any but labor organizations.

Since the creation of the U. L. E. C. a total of over $30,000 was expended on the educational work in New York City. Courses were given by the Committee in English, Economics, Industrial History, Socialism, Practical Psychology, Reading of Blue Prints, and History and Appreciation of Art. One class was organized for trade union officials and two courses on "Contemporary Problems" and on "How to Teach Economics in Labor Colleges," were conducted for public school teachers who had affiliated with the Committee. In addition several classes were organized in cooperation with the New School for Social Research. Recently attemps have been made to introduce educational work at the regular shop meetings of the affiliated unions. The most successful classes, both in the sense of regularity in attendance and size, were those held in the headquarters of labor organizations.

Aside from its class work, the U. L. E. C. since its inception has arranged 231 lectures and concerts for sixty union locals, reaching a membership of about 30,000. These lectures were given in a series of three and four, so that the subject is dealt with in a way to further substantial knowledge. These union lectures have proved a very important phase of the work of the Committee and have been very successful. During the time of its existence, the U. L. E. C. also

conducted ninety-seven forums, with an attendance of 18,000 persons. In addition more than 150 strike and unemployment service meetings were held, at which prominent speakers and artists appeared. Outside of the activities mentioned above, the Committee also arranges hikes to the country, which are devoted to the study of nature. Visits to the museums of art and natural history are also arranged frequently under the guidance of instructors.

In the season of 1919-20, the Rand School of Social Science cooperated with the United Labor Education Committee, by receiving into the Rand School classes at reduced fees several hundred students assigned by the Committee. The classes were partly regular classes, and partly special classes organized for the purpose. The subjects covered were: American History, General Modern History, Civics, Elementary Economics, Socialism, Trade Unionism, Elementary Natural Science, and various grades of English.

The Committee has practically divorced their regular activities from the public school system, and have concentrated their work in the headquarters of the affiliated organizations. This has been done partly because of the attitude of the Board of Education. The classes are all held in Union Headquarters. The forums are conducted in the headquarters of the Workmen's Circle and union halls. The public schools are still used, however, for special activities, such as concerts, dramatic readings, etc.

The U. L. E. C.'s experience has been that classes reach a very small minority. The commercialized "show" and moving picture reach a vast majority. The recreational activities of the Committee, connected as they are with lectures, are intended to combat the influences of commercialized amusement. These recreational activities of the Committee are intended, not as mass entertainments, but as new methods of mass education. The Committee believes its method can be used to make audiences read, register for classes, and take the first step in serious educational work. J. M. Budish, one of the early pioneers in workers' education and Chairman of the Committee, contends:

> If the educational movement is to become a mass movement so that it may have a real influence in shaping the thought of the working masses, the only way by which it can be accomplished is by using some new methods of mass education.

At the recent meeting of the Workers' Education Bureau of America (W. E. B.) Mr. Budish also suggested *the creation of a central body on labor education for the city of New York* to replace the United Labor Education Committee and to function locally as the W. E. B. hopes to function for a wider area.

The Cooperatives.

The Cooperative Movement conducts three New York schools. One is in Public School No. 63 (150 East 4th St.), one in the State Bank Building (5th Ave. and 115th St.), and one at 402 Stone Ave., Brownsville.

Cooperative education is of two kinds. One is education on the subject of cooperation. The other is education by the method of consumers' cooperation.

The most thorough school for practical training of cooperators is that held annually at Superior, Wisconsin.

A need is for the development of trained leaders among the working class for cooperation. One local answer to this need has been the eight-weeks-seminar conducted by Dr. J. P. Warbasse for three successive years. It was held in 1918-19 in the Washington Irving High School; in 1919-20 in the Sage Foundation Building, of New York, under the joint auspices of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the School for Social Work.

In the year of 1920-21 a course of 15 lectures on the history and technique of cooperation have been given under the auspices of Columbia University. In New York there were given a series of six lectures for training workers in the Zionist Movement for cooperative enterprises in Palestine.

The trade union colleges in various parts of the country give courses in cooperation.

"Cooperation," the organ of the Cooperative League of America, says:—

> Cooperation means that the consumers organize to control the production and distribution of the education which they want. This can be done if the students are adults and capable of knowing what they want. Those pioneer student bodies which are working out this method are doing the most radical thing that has been done in education since the free public school was established.

The three cooperative schools of Greater New York (downtown, Harlem and Brownsville), publish a monthly paper called "Co-operative Education."

The object of these New York consumers' experiments in education and the subject-matter place them outside the area of workers' education, as we have defined it. The object is largely to fit young people to pass Regents' and college examinations. The subject-matter is therefore largely, though not exclusively, that of regular preparatory courses.

The method of administration is a pure form of workers' education. The cooperative schools are under students' control. They charge a tuition fee (for instance, of $5 a month for five nights a week of three periods). They use public and high school instructors. The students administer all the finances. One of the schools has 500 pupils, another 300.

Training Executives

The Cooperative Central Exchange at Superior, Wisconsin, carries on a wholesale business and conducts a school for the education of cooperative executives. The Exchange has a membership of 49 distributive societies. This was the second year of the training course, which was begun with 43 students. Most of the students come from Minnesota, Michigan and Wisconsin. The ages range from 15 to 48. Of the students of 1919, 70 per cent are now employed in cooperative stores.

American cooperation has a "literature" which makes the task of education easier than in the political and trade union fields. There are excellent books on the history, theory and practice of cooperation. There are useful pamphlets. This material for cooperative education is to be obtained from the Cooperative League of America (2 West 13th Street, New York). There is, for instance, the ten-cent pamphlet on "Cooperative Education—The Duties of the Educational Committee Defined." This pamphlet is so clear and precise that it might serve as a model for publications on labor information. Good pamphleteering is one of the immediate needs in workers' education.

Cooperative "Literature"

"Cooperative societies can not be developed any faster than people can be trained to run them," and to support them. This means training of managers and executives and training of the whole membership. Trade unions also can not be developed any faster than people can be trained to run them and to take over progressively the functions of administration of industry. Education has long been accepted as essential to success in cooperation. Education has not been so widely accepted by trade unionists as essential to success in industrial democracy.

The Trade Union College of Boston.

The Trade Union College under the auspices of the Boston Central Labor Union was planned immediately after the end of the war in 1918, was organized in January, 1919, and was opened with a program of fourteen courses on April 7, 1919. It was the first college in America to be established by the entire central labor body of any city, and this plan inaugurated in Boston has since then been followed in various other cities. During the first term, the students numbered only 169, but within a year the total enrolment mounted as high as 450. At first the college was meant primarily for trade unionists affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and members of their families, but from the first all other workers who applied were admitted with the approval of the Board of Control, and the Boston Central Labor Union has now voted to open the college to all wage workers on equal terms.

The Board of Control is made up of 25 members: 15 appointed by the Central Labor Union, 5 elected by the students, and 5 elected by the teachers. Since most of the students are regular trade unionists and since the representatives of the teachers are almost all members of the Teachers' Union and delegates to the Boston Central Labor Union, this means that the college is genuinely in the hands of the organized labor movement of Boston and is thus ultimately responsible to a body of 80,000 workers.

The students, who have formed a Student Association of their own, are continually coming to play a larger part in the running of their college. In addition to the 5 regularly elected representatives

of the students on the Board of Control, almost all of the 15 representatives appointed by the Central Labor Union are or have been students in the college; so that the students, past and present, have now some 17 representatives on the Board of Control as compared to the 5 representatives of the teachers. Moreover, in the various courses, it is the students of one term who decide what aspect of the subject and often what professor they desire for the following term.

The teachers who have at one time or another given courses in the college number over 50. The Boston Trade Union College has been fortunate in being able to draw upon some of the best teachers at Harvard University, including the Dean of the Harvard Law School, and upon professors at Wellesley, Tufts, Simmons, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, as well as teachers in the High Schools and other Public Schools of Boston. From the first the insistence has been made upon a high standard of scholarship in the teaching. The students themselves demand this and it has been felt that in the long run the success of the college would depend rather on the excellence of the work done in the classroom than upon any popular appeal which might merely reduplicate what is being done in the innumerable forums already in existence.

The courses that have been most often chosen by the students and therefore most often given include the following subjects:—(1) *Writing,* divided into elementary, intermediate, and advanced classes in composition, to meet the different needs ranging from the workers of foreign birth who are beginning to write English up to trade unionists who may be preparing for positions as secretaries of unions; (2) *Discussion,* where the men and women of the labor movement receive practice in public speaking and debating under expert guidance; (3) *Literature,* dealing with the social significance of the recent books and plays of various nations; (4) *Economics,* taking up the different theories of the production, distribution and consumption of wealth; (5) *Law,* with especial reference to the law of contracts and to labor legislation; (6) *Science,* including a course in the principles of mechanics for machinists and a course in food chemistry for the wives of wage earners; (7) *Recreation,* including gymnastics, dancing, concerts, theatrical performances, moving pictures and any other social activities which the students may arrange. Other courses are given whenever there is sufficient demand for them.

The classes meet one evening a week for two hours, the first hour usually being devoted to the lecture and the second hour being given over to a general discussion in which all the students are encouraged to take part. In many of the courses outside reading is done and essays and written tests handed in, criticised, and returned to the students.

The year's work in each of these courses is divided into three terms of ten weeks each:—(1) the Fall Term, from October to December; (2) the Winter Term, from January to March; (3) and the Spring Term, from April to June. Most of the courses run continuously through the three terms, so that there are really 30 consecutive two-hour meetings of each class throughout the year. Later on it is hoped to have in addition a Summer Term from July to September.

The expenses of the college consist chiefly of the printing of the little pamphlets giving outlines of the lectures in the courses, the salary of the assistant secretary, and the nominal salaries of $100 which are paid to the teachers for each course of ten lectures, and which have often been returned to the funds of the college by such teachers as could afford to do so. These expenses have been met in three ways: (1) by the fees of $2.50 paid by the students for each course; (2) by contributions from the various local unions; (3) and by individual subscriptions mostly made up of small sums from trade unionists handed in in response to subscription lists circulated in the locals. No financial help from the State Board of Education or from University Extension has been accepted. The trade unionists have preferred not only to control their own college but also to pay for it themselves.

The buildings in which the classes have so far been held include the High School of Practical Arts in Roxbury, the Abraham Lincoln School, the English High School, the Boys' Latin School, and the rooms of the Boston Central Labor Union and of other trade unions. As soon as a Labor Lyceum is built in Boston, it is hoped to have accommodation there for all the classes. The Boston Trade Union College will then be able to depend entirely on the resources of the organized labor movement itself.

The Trade Union College of Washington, D. C.

The Trade Union College of Washington, D. C., was organized by a number of trade unionists in May, 1919, at a meeting called for that purpose through the initiative of Mrs. Annie Riley Hale. The college opened in November, 1919. The preamble of the constitution of the college adopted at the meeting declares:—

> It being the avowed object of the Trade Union movement in the United States of America to organize in crafts, combine in councils and federate in one great national assembly for the purpose of mutual protection, assistance and cooperation, which shall enable its members to enjoy a full share of the wealth which they help to create, together with sufficient leisure in which to develop their social, moral and intellectual faculties as well as the advantages, benefits and pleasures of mutual association which shall enable them to share in the gains and honors in this age of great development and civilization in which we live:
>
> Now, therefore, We, the Trade Union delegates in temporary organization assembled, together with certain professors, teachers and college graduates, in order to secure for Trade Unionists the benefits of a higher and more liberal education, as above desired and also to the end that we may attract the most educated and intellectual citizens to our cause, do hereby declare our intention to found a college, adopting the following constitution and by-laws, defining, governing, controlling and supporting the same.

Active membership in the college is confined to local unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. The Board of Directors consists of thirteen members—comprising the trade union officers of the college, seven trade union members elected by the college, and two members elected by the instructors of the college.

Since the inauguration of the college, courses were offered in English, Music, Dancing, Literature, Mathematics, Mechanical Drawing, Economics, History of the Labor Movement, Elementary Law, Current Labor Questions, Vocational Education, Industrial Hygiene, Cooperation, and Democratic Control of Industry. The classes are one and two hours in length, part lecture and part discussion. The instructors are recruited from the local schools and from government experts.

The total enrollment of students was as follows: First term, 1919-1920, eighty-seven; second term, 1919-1920, fifty-nine; first term,

1920-1921, seventeen; second term, 1920-1921, seventeen. The decline in the student registration of the Washington College is so far unique in the labor education movement in this country, and is credited to the fact that Washington is not an industrial city and to the numerous competitive educational and social institutions in the city.

Workers' College of Seattle.

The Workers' College of Seattle, founded in 1919, is under the control of the Central Labor Council. It is housed in the Labor Temple and pays a nominal rent. The Central Labor Council appoints an educational committee of seven, representing the main industrial groups. The work is financed in several ways. There are collections at certain lectures. In certain courses at first the pupils paid tuition. In other courses there are voluntary contributions from the pupils. A card system has also been used, calling for periodical contributions.

The Workers' College of Seattle stated what labor education seeks:

> Education in our universities and colleges is essentially capitalistic, in that it glorifies competition and seeks to produce an efficient individual. Education that may properly be called labor education is essentially socialistic, in that it glorifies cooperation and seeks to produce an efficient social and industrial order.

The Seattle College offered courses in the Trade Union and Cooperative Movements, Marx, Social Ethics, Background of European History, The American Constitution, The Soviet Constitution, The Program of British Labor, Biology, English, Parliamentary Law, etc. There is no accurate registration of students kept, but over 1,000 persons have attended the lectures since the inauguration of the work of the college. During the last winter there was an attendance of 200 Sunday afternoon. The Sunday Evening Forum has brought an average attendance of 800.

One of the instruction methods used is that of resident lecturer. A visitor is invited to spend a month in Seattle for the purpose of giving courses and lectures. Thus the Seattle college was able to secure the services of Dr. Henry de Man, the Belgian labor leader and educator, who spent considerable time at the Seattle Workers' College.

Educational conferences are periodically held with two delegates from each union and one or two delegates from each class. These

conferences have acted as an advisory committee on education to the Central Labor Council, which in turn appoints its educational committee of seven as the executive.

The Workers' College has a dramatic section, which is an amateur dramatic society.

In the first year of the Workers' College much of the teaching and much of the influence came from the State University of Washington. In the case of one or two of the professors, this teaching and influence were offensive to the workers. By the year 1920-21 the Workers' College had emancipated itself from the State University, and was in a position to summon its own teachers, including one in biology from the State University.

Rochester Labor College.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Rochester have established a labor college which adds many amusement and recreational features to regular class work. The work was begun on a small scale in 1919-20. During 1920-21 classes were established in Labor Unionism, Public Speaking, Social Problems, English and Singing. In addition successful amusement clubs were formed, including a Dramatic Club, and a Girls' Bowling Team.

The classes in the labor college were taught by the Educational Director, Paul Blanshard, who is a former union organizer, and by a professor in the University of Rochester, and others. Three classes were scheduled in English, one of which was an advanced course. The course in Labor Unionism, given by the educational director, was a course in the practical aspects of the union movement with particular reference to the clothing industry in Rochester. It was held every Thursday night before the sessions of the Joint Board, so that nearly all leaders of the union were reached. In the class in Public Speaking practical parliamentary law was taught for the first fifteen minutes of each session by a parliamentary drill in which each member of the class took the chair and was removed as soon as he made a mistake. Sample subjects for discussion were: Resolved, that piece work is better than week work in the clothing industry; Resolved, that the United States should recognize Soviet Russia; Resolved, that unemployment insurance is practical in the clothing industry; nominating

speeches for union officers, speeches to strike mass meetings, etc. A union debating team was chosen from the class which debated an outside team on communism.

The classes were conducted from November until April and averaged 20 to 25 in attendance. These included several lecture series given by the educational director before local unions.

A weekly paper of four pages was published as part of the Rochester educational program, and distributed free to the clothing shops. It was devoted chiefly to union notices and discussion of educational subjects. The paper has been suspended for the summer months and will be resumed in September. The union also had a small library, which was a branch of the public library with books on labor added to the collection. All classes in the labor college were open to union members free of charge.

The educational work in Rochester was given impetus by a large weekly forum which averaged over 1,000 in attendance. The forum was held in the union's headquarters and speakers of national reputation were often brought to Rochester. Among the speakers at these Friday night forums were: W. Z. Foster, who spoke on "The Steel Strike"; Joseph Schlossberg, Secretary-Treasurer of the A. C. W. of A., on "Labor in Europe"; Bishop Paul Jones, on "The New Leadership." Frequently debates replaced the speakers, and well attended debates were held on such subjects as "Resolved, that the Church Is Beneficial to Labor"; "That the I. W. W. is Reactionary in Its Political Philosophy"; "That America Should Follow in the Path of Russia and Adopt Communism"; etc.

The Friday night educational forums were followed by dancing, but no union member was allowed to dance who did not attend the lecture. The union is continuing its educational work in the summer by arranging for meetings of union members and their families at a summer cottage. An elaborate program has been planned for next year with compulsory classes in unionism for new members.

The women, who constitute a majority of the clothing workers of Rochester, were not neglected. They had classes of their own and many social activities under the direction of Miss Edith Christenson. Some of the topics of lectures and discussions before a special women's group were: "Should a Woman Obey Her Husband"? "Should

a Woman Earn Her Own Living"? "Physical Fitness"; "Women and Clothes." Popular lectures on economic and social themes were given before union locals under such titles as: "How to Be a Millionaire"; "How to Die in the Poor House"; "Why Women Should Be Discontented"; "If I Were Harding," etc.

A pamphlet on "How the Union Works," which describes the operations of the union and its general purposes, was prepared by the educational department and distributed through the shops by shop chairmen.

The cost of the Rochester educational program including the weekly paper and the salary of the educational director was approximately one cent per member per week. The funds were raised by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Rochester.

One of the reasons for the success of the Rochester program has been the equipment of the union building. The building is located in the heart of the residence district of the workers and is supplied with two large auditoriums, classrooms and adequate offices.

Baltimore Labor Class.

The original educational undertaking in Baltimore was the Community School which grew out of the Community Church, which latter was conducted by two progressive Episcopal ministers. The Community School had classes in five or six subjects and found Sundays particularly useful for meetings. Some of the classes numbered as many as 40 students, about equally divided between men and women. This was altogether the most important project among workers which Baltimore has experienced. After operating for about a year it came to an end three years ago when the building in which classes were held was torn down.

In April, 1920, the Baltimore Labor College, which sought to obtain the cooperation of both the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and unions affiliated with the Baltimore Federation of Labor, started four classes, using one of the downtown buildings of the Johns Hopkins University for night courses. The subjects taught were: Public Speaking, English, Current Events, and History of the English Labor Movement. Four instructors were selected from a list of eleven competent people who volunteered their services. Classes

numbered about ten students each. Attendance was regular for the two months during which the classes operated. Small fees were charged the students.

The Labor College stopped for the summer and the work was resumed in the fall by the Educational Committee of the Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The clothing trade was much depressed and it was possible to start only one class, taught by Dr. Broadus Mitchell, of Johns Hopkins University. Current Events seemed the best choice in subject-matter. It had a regular attendance of fifteen, two-thirds women and one-third men, not all of whom, however, were members of the Amalgamated. It met in the Progressive Labor Lyceum, convenient to the homes of the students, on Saturday nights from 8 to 9.30, from October to April, inclusive. Half of the period has been given to statement by the instructor and the other half to discussion. The discussion, states Dr. Mitchell, has developed not only valuable contribution of fact but useful points of view. The students have been astonishingly regular in attendance, were not deterred by the worst weather, and seemed never to want a holiday. There has been no charge of any kind.

Next session it is hoped to inaugurate two new classes, one in Modern Literature, and another in General Science. These will be helpful, it is suggested, in contributing, the one, cultural training, and the other, familiarity with objective examination, which is important for workers.

The class this winter has been conducted with entire informality and anything done has been at the instance of the whole group.

The Department of Education of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

The Pennsylvania Labor Education Committee was organized at the Altoona convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor in May, 1920. An Executive Committee of fifty labor representatives throughout the State was elected at that time, J. R. Copenhaver (machinist) and A. Epstein were elected Chairman and General Secretary, respectively. Shortly afterward, the Committee was converted into the Department of Education of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, with President James H. Maurer acting as Advisor.

Although the convention passed several resolutions urging the inauguration of educational work in the State, no definite fund was appropriated for this work.

Despite the lack of money, the 1920-21 season opened with regular trade union colleges in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh and labor classes in Allentown, Bethlehem, Harrisburg, Lancaster, Pen Argyl, Pottsville and Reading.

The Philadelphia Trade Union College.

The Philadelphia Trade Union College was organized in June, 1920, by a number of trade union representatives of that city. The college is under the control of a board of trustees composed of representatives of the different unions and elected by all the affiliated unions. An affiliation fee of ten dollars is charged each local union. Approximately forty organizations affiliated with the college during the first year. The instructors are recruited from the more liberal and sympathetic members of the faculties of the local universities.

During the winter of 1920-21, the Philadelphia Trade Union College gave courses in Labor and Industry, Labor and the Law, Plan Reading, and Public Speaking. A course in English was also given during the season. The total enrollment of students was ninety, with a regular attendance of about fifty. A fee of two dollars and fifty cents was charged each student per course of ten weeks. All classes were held in union halls.

The Pittsburgh Trade Union College.

The Pittsburgh Trade Union College was organized early in July, 1920, at a meeting of a number of trade union representatives called for that purpose by the Pennsylvania Labor Education Committee. As in Philadelphia, the college is under the control of a board of trustees composed of representatives of local unions. The funds were raised by contributions from the Central Labor Union and local unions and a fee of two dollars per course was charged each student. The instructors here, as in Philadelphia, are recruited from the universities.

The total enrollment of students during the 1920-21 session was sixty, while the average regular attendance was about forty. The Pittsburgh Central Labor Union, which in the beginning held itself

aloof from (and looked down with suspicion upon) the work of the college in that city, is now thoroughly in sympathy with the movement and it is expected that next year it will finance considerably the work of the school. The courses given by the Pittsburgh College included Economics, History of the Labor Movement, Industrial Problems and Literature.

The Workers' Educational Classes in the Smaller Cities in Pennsylvania.

The Pennsylvania Labor Education Committee and its general secretary, A. Epstein, undertook work in the smaller cities of the State. Here new ground was broken and new methods of organization devised. In these cities, local part-time teachers who were capable and who were sufficiently in sympathy with the movement to teach in workers' schools were not available. There was only one thing to be done and that was to secure the cooperation of several nearby cities which, on a cooperative basis, would employ a full-time instructor to give one lesson a week in each city. To do this it was necessary to enroll the aid of at least five or six nearby towns.

An intensive campaign for labor education was carried on during the summer and fall of 1920, and the 1920-21 season opened with classes in Allentown, Bethlehem, Harrisburg, Lancaster, Pen Argyl, Pottsville and Reading. A full-time teacher, Charles J. Hendley, who was stationed in this district, met one class a week in each of these towns. The course consisted of twenty-six weekly lessons covering: The Evolution of Industry, The Social and Economic Consequences of the Industrial Revolution, The Problems of the City, State and National Government as a Result of the Industrial Changes, The Legal Position of the Corporations and Trade Unions, The Reforms Proposed Through Social Legislation, The History and Present Status of the Labor Movement. A few lectures were devoted to modern movements for industrial progress, as: The Single Tax, The Co-operative Movement, Socialism, etc. Each course lasted for two hours and consisted not only of lectures but also of readings, digests, or reports on readings by students before the class, as well as quizzes and discussion.

The work in these towns was financed entirely by the central labor unions and local unions. No fee was charged the individual student.

The response of some local unions has been exceedingly encouraging. A number have contributed as much as $100 each. In the beginning most classes met in schoolrooms, but gradually the use of some of these rooms was refused by the school boards, although not a single charge was ever brought against any of the students or instructors. A few classes, however, continued to meet in schoolrooms.

On April 1, 1921, there were a total of 338 students enrolled in nine cities in Pennsylvania, with an average attendance of 197. Reports on 138 books were read by the students before the classes, the great majority of which, the teachers say, were of high grade. The 338 students mentioned above include only those who have attended the classes at least three times during the season. About 150 more have attended the classes less than three times. The percentage of regular attendance as compared with the total enrollment was fifty-nine.

At the latest convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, held in May, 1921, in Harrisburg, James H. Maurer, President of the Federation, presented a comprehensive report on the Workers' Educational Classes in Pennsylvania, summarizing the work that has been accomplished during the past year and recommended to the convention that the delegates, "by appropriate resolution, empower and instruct your executive committee to formulate such plans, adopt such measures and policies and use so much of the Federation funds as in their wisdom will best promote the success of this important work." A resolution to that effect was introduced and was unanimously adopted by the delegates.

The Trade Union College of Greater New York.

The Trade Union College of Greater New York was organized in the spring of 1920 under the auspices of a number of local unions in New York City. The college received the endorsement of such organizations as the Machinists' District Council No. 15, the New York Harbor Council of Railway and Steamship Clerks and the Allied Printing Trades Council. The object of the college is:

> To provide educational opportunities for those who work for a living, by establishing lecture and study courses, or by such other means as may be deemed practicable.

Active membership of the College is open to any local union conditioned upon approval of the Board of Directors. This Board is made up of fifteen members consisting of (a) the officers of the college, (b) seven members elected by the College Council and (c) four members elected by the faculty of the college. The affiliation fee is ten dollars per annum.

The school conducted two classes in 1920-21—one in English and the other in Law in its Relation to the Trade Unions. The summer session had a total registration of twenty-eight, and the winter season of thirty-six students. The students paid $2.50 each per course of ten lectures. The classes were held in a public schoolroom.

Mrs. Annie Riley Hale, whom we have mentioned in the experiment of Washington, D. C., was an initiator of this New York Trade Union College.

Amherst Classes for Workers.

Amherst College, under the leadership of Walton H. Hamilton and F. S. May, undertook to organize classes for workers under the joint auspices of the College and certain labor groups as

> an expression of the belief that an opportunity for liberal education should be open to all who feel the need of it. They (the classes) establish a working connection between Amherst College and the group of working men and women in its vicinity, so that each may offer to the other the wisdom that has been gained through its experience, and the joint product applied to the solution of problems that are common to all of us.

Classes were opened October, 1920, in Springfield and Holyoke, Mass. The instruction is given by members of the faculty. The Executive Board consists of thirteen members, nine of whom are members of trade unions, and four represent the college. The funds are raised from a fee of two dollars charged each student per course. But the actual financial support comes from the college and from a grant by the Commonwealth Fund of New York.

The courses given during the past year were: Current Economic Problems, and Trade Union Problems. The total enrollment was forty-five. One class met in a Public School, one in a trade union hall.

Workers' University, Cleveland, Ohio.

The first season of educational activity for the International Garment Workers of Cleveland began November 1, 1920. The Board of Education paid four instructors: English, Gymnasium, Pianist, and instructor in History of the Labor Movement. The Garment Workers exercised complete jurisdiction over the planning of courses and the selection of teachers. Classes were conducted at the Headquarters of the Union although public school buildings were available. A large auditorium in an adjoining club house served for gymnasium practice, motion pictures, lectures and large meetings.

Recognizing the psychological value of the short term in stimulating interest, courses were planned on the basis of six weeks to a term. At the end of this period, all the courses originally planned were continued on request. The subjects offered were: English, History of the American Labor Movement, Economics, History of Society, Modern Drama; Health: Personal Hygiene, Home Nursing, Shop Sanitation, Gymnasium, and through the generous contribution of a sympathizer, a circulating and reference library was conducted with the cooperation of the local public library which loaned books.

There was no stipulated Budget for the Educational Department. The salary of the educational director, plus the cost of stationery, printing and postage represented the average monthly expenditure. The work was practically carried on by volunteer instruction.

Publicity was secured through the usual channels: newspapers, printed and verbal announcements, dodgers, posters and personal communications.

An Educational Committee representing two members from each shop was at first organized to assist in shaping policy, advertising classes and conducting the follow-up work among students who dropped out. Subsequently the union voted to transfer this function to the Executive Committee of one local which had taken initiative in educational activities. Two-thirds of the members on this Committee attended courses and were therefore, in a sense, representative of the student body. Expediency dictated this arrangement which was not intended to stand as a policy. Regular meetings of the Committee were held every two weeks, and students entertained the general membership one Sunday afternoon each month.

An effort was made to obtain the cooperation of the Central Labor Body to organize a Central Labor College for all organized workers in Cleveland.

The Educational work of the Cleveland Garment Workers is under the auspices of the Educational Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The Department of Education of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has had a leading part in workers' education in America since its birth in 1914. The value of education for the largest possible number of its membership was duly emphasized at the very inception of the organization. And since then no opportunity was missed to further educational activities in the organization. Before it was one year old, elaborate plans of both extensive and intensive educational activities were formulated by the administration of the union. Reporting to the Second Biennial Convention, in the spring of 1916, the General Executive Board stated the position of the union in the matter of education in unmistakable terms. Education is considered to be the very backbone of the life of the organization, the promise of its future. It declared:

> It is not enough . . . to merely organize the workers. Organization in itself is no end and has no meaning. . . . If we content ourselves with that and make no effort at higher elevation we simply confirm the worker in the status of a biped beast of burden. . . . Material improvements are in the very nature of things of primary importance. But when the body of the worker is more rested and better fed, his intellect should likewise be taken care of . . .

A report submitted to the Third Biennial Convention reiterated:

> It is our intention to make education work a permanent feature of our organization.

A resolution declaring that

> It is important that a spiritual atmosphere should be created among our members for the purpose of bringing out the best that is in them,

instructed the General Office

> to endeavor to the best of their ability to establish libraries and reading rooms in all clothing centers where conditions will permit so as to enable our members to enjoy their spare time in a wholesome atmosphere among their fellow workers.

The Boston Convention finally decided for the establishment of a National Educational Department to be located at the General Office, with an Educational Director in charge of such department. The resolution covering the subject and unanimously adopted reads:

> Whereas, education is the basis of permanent and responsible organization among the workers, and
>
> Whereas, the crystallization of the class consciousness of the workers is only possible through the education of the workers, be it
>
> Resolved, that a special educational department be organized as a part of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America with an educational director, and be it further
>
> Resolved, that the object of this educational department be to create educational machinery in every industrial center, and be it further
>
> Resolved, that the educational department establish relations with national and international bureaus of education and with libraries and other institutions akin to its own purpose and intents.

The Department of Education of the A. C. W. of A. was started early in the fall of 1920 with J. B. Salutsky as National Director, Mr. Paul Blanshard, Regional Director for Rochester and territory; and David J. Saposs, Educational Director for Greater New York. The National Director visited a number of large centers and extensive plans for local activities were worked out. Unfortunately, unemployment and a lock-out of the clothing workers, which affected nearly 100,000 members of the Amalgamated in New York, Baltimore, Boston and Philadelphia, upset the entire program of education of the Amalgamated during 1920-21. Very little work could therefore be done in New York and Boston, the two cities most affected by the lockout. The work done in Rochester, Baltimore and Chicago is described elsewhere in this pamphlet.

The educational work actually carried on by the Amalgamated in New York may be summed up as follows:

1. Mass-lectures were given in several districts of the Greater City. In some cases the lectures were illustrated with stereopticon views, prepared for the organization. In the Brownsville and Williamsburg districts the attendance was particularly large and members would turn out with their families, the evenings set for the lectures having rapidly become an event in their social life.

2. A considerable number of local unions, among them many of the largest, had special lectures given before their meetings would take up business. In most cases the local lectures would be followed by discussion.

3. In several Public Schools courses of English were instituted, the teachers having been supplied by the Public School system. Study classes in other subjects were to be started but difficulties with the school authorities regarding the subjects and the language of instruction had delayed the matter, and then the lockout made practically impossible any systematic work.

4. The Union had also established a number of scholarships for its members at the Rand School of Social Science. Twenty-eight part time students enrolled for a study under a curriculum worked out by the Union and the Faculty of the School. The students paid one half of the tuition, the Union paying for the second half.

5. Later in the season a temporary Day Labor College was established for sufficiently advanced students out of the ranks of the strikers. Thirty-five passed the requirements of the Board of the College. Instruction was given daily with Mr. Saposs and Solon De Leon in charge. Classes were opened on January 17th and work went on for nearly two months, when a considerable number of settlements of strikes took away their forced leisure from the students.

The courses offered were as follows: History of Civilization, Public Speaking, Working Class Movements, and Economics.

An Amalgamated Active Workers' Club was organized for the purpose of getting the officials of the organization and the members of all standing governing and legislatory committees to take up self-educational work. The members of the A. C. W. of A. get together as often as possible for discussion of important problems of a larger calibre.

The Educational Department has also taken up the publication of books and pamphlets to meet educational needs. The following four pamphlets have been produced and to a large extent sold and distributed:

1. The Rise of the Clothing Workers, by Joseph Schlossberg.
2. Problems of Labor Organization, by Joseph Schlossberg.
3. Latest Developments in Trade Unionism, by George Soule.
4. 27 Questions and Answers on the Open Shop Movement, by Paul Blanshard.

In preparation are at present a few more pamphlets of the Educational Series, mostly 32-page booklets, and two larger works—one being an analytical History of the Lockout in New York, and the other, An Amalgamated Labor Alamanac or Year Book.

At the recent meeting of the Workers' Education Bureau of America, Joseph Schlossberg, Secretary-Treasurer of the A. C. W. of A., declared that labor education must embody the following principles:

1. Simple agitation, leading to organization.
2. An understanding of the play of social forces compelling the formation of a trade union.
3. Education on relations with the employers, on responsibility of the officers and the members to the organization.
4. Education to understand that the labor organization to function successfully must adapt itself to changes in industry, that the craft union must become an industrial organization.
5. Education on the fact that the labor organization is hampered in its legal activities by the political agencies of society; by the lawmakers and other public officials.
6. Education upon the great social problem, the cause of the raging class struggle and the final aim of the labor movement.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have also carried on separate educational work for their own members in Chicago. A number of courses were given to selected groups, arranged according to the interests in the subject-matter, preparation for study, etc. The courses included English, Arithmetic, Public Speaking, Elementary Law, Trade Unions, Cooperative Movement, Movement of Thought in the 19th Century, Modern Literature, Social Hygiene as well as classes in dancing and dramatic art clubs. Teachers in the Chicago Study Classes of the Amalgamated included such men as Professor James H. Tufts, Head of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Chicago, and Professor F. S. Deibler of Northwestern University. Madame Lomonossoff was in charge of the educational activities. All classes were conducted at the Home Building of the Union. The concerts and entertainments which were given during 1920-21 proved highly successful.

Workers' College of Minneapolis, Minn.

The Workers' College of Minneapolis was organized on January 1, 1921, under the auspices of the Minneapolis Trade and Labor Assembly. Unlike most labor colleges, representation on the Board of Control of the Minneapolis Workers' College is given to "all working class organizations—Socialist Party, I. W. W., etc." The college has an advisory committee composed of all interested persons

and includes ministers of the gospel, college professors, etc. The funds are raised from contributions of local unions and from student fees which range from three to five dollars per course.

The college opened its season with an enrollment of 162 students. During the last term courses were given in English, Public Speaking, Sociology, Economics, History, and Current Events. The most popular courses were English, Public Speaking and History.

Next year it is planned to start the work of the college early in the fall, with double the number of courses. A new Board of Control of representatives from over thirty unions was recently elected and it is now proposed that every local union contribute to the school every month a sum equal to one cent per member. This suggestion is made largely for two reasons: first, it distributes the burden in an equitable manner among all union members, and secondly, it assures a steady income.

St. Paul Labor College, St. Paul, Minn.

The St. Paul Labor College was established on January 1, 1921. The college is under the control of the Trades and Labor Assembly of that city. The total enrollment for the year 1921 was about 100. The tuition fee was $4 per course. Courses were offered in English, Public Speaking, and the History of the Labor Movement. The latter course, a series of free lectures, was given on Sunday afternoons. It is significant that it was the most popular course, having an average regular attendance of 40 students. Each course continued for 14 weeks. Classes usually met in labor halls. One class used a public library room for which no rent was paid. A newspaper editor, a high school teacher, a prominent attorney and a college professor were the instructors.

For the summer, the students had, of their own initiative, organized an Economic Study Club which chooses a different member of the class as teacher at each meeting. The Club uses Henry Clay's "Economics for the General Reader" and the class outlines of the educational department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, as guides for discussion. The class is limited to twenty members. It will be interesting to watch this experiment of a class without a teacher.

SCHOOLS ON A SPECIAL BASIS

The Rand School.

The Rand School of Social Science in New York is "an autonomously organized educational auxiliary to the Socialist and Labor movements of the United States. It is owned by the American Socialist Society." Its affairs are conducted under the control of an annually elected Board of Directors of nine members.

Detailed execution of approved plans of the Board rests with the Educational Director and the Secretary of the School. They and the Board of Directors of the American Socialist Society are assisted by an Educational Council, composed of five regular instructors, two of the administrative staff, and two student delegates. This body meets three or four times a month and to a large extent is given a free hand in planning courses, choosing teachers, and carrying into effect the policies of the Board of Directors.

During each of the last four years (1918-1921) the total number of students has ranged from three to five thousand.

Total figures such as those have little definite meaning. Of the pupils included in the totals given, many attend only one or two courses of six to twelve lectures each; a few (from twelve to thirty students a year) give practically their whole time to study for six months; several hundred take up courses which aggregate from seventy to one hundred sessions in the year.

There is a training course for making workers efficient for the Socialist Party, the Trade Unions and the Cooperatives. This course is taken by a group who give full time for six months. Many of these, after graduation, become labor secretaries, organizers and editors.

There is also a training course designed especially for residents of New York, in which students attend four or five sessions a week, evenings and Saturday and Sunday afternoons, for eighteen months.

The detailed schedule of courses for the year 1920-21 includes Economics, Political Science, General and Economic History, Anthropology, Sociology, Criminology, Socialism, Trade Unionism, Cooperation, Industrial Problems, Education, Logic and Psychology, Ethics, Statistics and Research, Accounting, Bookkeeping, Secretarial Work,

Public Speaking, English Composition and Literary Criticism, Modern Drama, and Modern Poetry. As a glance shows, these subjects are not chosen with the aim of impressing a narrow dogmatism upon the pupils of the school, but to meet human needs. The students coming to this institution have exceptional opportunity of influencing the curriculum. It is their desire to find fullness of life through the orderly development of the labor movement in the fields of cooperation, trade unionism and politics which leads them to study.

The Rand School was established in 1906 by a trust fund of the late Mrs. Carrie Rand, and a contribution from her daughter, the late Mrs. Carrie Rand Herron. The greater part of the capital since then has been withdrawn by the various heirs upon coming of age according to the terms of the deed of trust, and the income has thus been diminished. Tuition funds now meet from 40 to 50 per cent of the Rand School's expense of maintenance. Profits from the Rand Book Store and the People's House Cafeteria provide for another 25 to 35 per cent. There are many thousand dollars a year to be raised by the yearly ball, entertainments, and contributions. The tuition fee is $4 for each 12-session course and $7 for each course of 24 sessions.

Arrangements are made with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the Workmen's Circle, United Automobile Workers, Amalgamated Metal Workers, International Jewelry Workers, and various branches of the Socialist Party for courses for their members.

The workers of the clothing industry and the Rand School have always been in close contact. The educational movement of these advanced workers (with their large Jewish membership) has received considerable impulse and furtherance from the Rand School. The industrial structure of the clothing industry, the high intelligence and character of its membership, the absence of labor political graft among its officers—all are illustrative of both the causes and the effects of adult education on the workers. But no swift "morals" and "lessons" can be drawn for the American labor movement in general. The Jewish mind, which dominates the clothing industry, is alert, eager for instruction, open to ideas. Through suffering, the Jewish group has learned solidarity. So these experiments of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of

America, the United Labor Education Committee, and the Rand School of Social Science, must be considered as a special group whose progress in labor education is more advanced than that of other groups in the country.

The Rand School has been a pioneer in workers' education. For all who believe in the Rand School principles of constitutional procedure and peaceful solutions of vexed questions by majority consent it becomes a matter of privilege and duty to champion the Rand School as occasion arises. It is not the Rand School that is being advocated. It is workers' education.

Work People's College.

The Work People's College is a resident school located in Duluth, Minnesota. It was founded by the Finnish People's Club. The college is under the control of a Board of Directors elected by the stockholders, many of whom belong to Finnish workers' clubs. The school lays emphasis on the education of the rank and file along the lines of industrial unionism and has been, it is claimed, a great influence among the Finns. The school owns its own property and buildings and is valued at about $40,000. Most of the students reside during the entire time of the school season in the college dormitory. Each student pays $46 a month which is apportioned as follows: $30 for board, $6 for room and $10 for tuition. Student fees make up about 80% of the expenditures. The balance of the funds is secured from a quarterly publication and from donations in about equal proportions.

The subjects taught in this school include: English, Arithmetic, Bookkeeping, Finnish, Economics, Sociology, History of the American Labor Movement and Public Speaking. The student body is made up entirely of unskilled Finnish workers. About 95% of these have had a common school education in their native country. Every one of the students is working either in the lumber industry or in the mining industry. Very few of them have a trade. The majority of the students, it is reported, come to the school for practical courses, such as English, Mathematics and the Commercial Subjects. The rule of the college, however, is that every student must attend at least one class in either Economics, Sociology or History of the American Labor Movement.

The school attempted to run courses for eight months in the year. It was found, however, that students could not be kept at school after the middle of April nor could students commence the school year until late in the fall. Since 1914, therefore, the school year lasts only for five months, beginning in November and extending until April 15. The school employs four full-time teachers. Ninety-five students resided at the school during the past year.

Detroit Workers' Educational Association.

The Detroit Workers' Educational Association is an organization made up of groups of working men and women which has been conducting lectures and classes in the House of the Masses since its inception in May, 1918. The subject-matter studied is largely that of Marxian Socialism. A total of forty students were enrolled in these classes, 1920-21. The necessary funds are raised by the Workers' Educational Association of Detroit.

In addition to the above organization, two other educational associations, the Proletarian Party and the Detroit Socialist Education Society, conduct study classes. The three organizations, it is claimed, conducted about fifteen study classes besides mass meetings every week.

Workers' Institute.

The Workers' Institute of Chicago was originally supported by the United Hebrew Trades, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and by many of the radical and liberal workers in Chicago. It has conducted many classes and arranged series of lectures by men of various degrees of prominence. Last winter it arranged a series of lectures on trade union problems by W. Z. Foster as well as a series on philosophy and economics by Carl Hessler. The Workers' Institute was forced to dissolve a few months ago for a number of reasons. Chief among these were the raids of the Department of Justice in which a number of students were arrested while attending classes, and which intimidated many from attending the school, and the fact that most of the organizations who previously supported the Institute have started their own educational work. Many of the former supporters of the Institute have also now gone in with the educational work of the Women's Trade Union League.

Brookwood.

Brookwood is a resident workers' college at Katonah, N. Y., forty-one miles from New York City on the Harlem Division of the New York Central Railroad. It is located on a fifty-three acre tract of wooded land among the hills and brooks of Westchester County.

Save for the fact that it stands for a new and better order, motivated by social values rather than pecuniary ones, Brookwood is not a propagandist institution. It aims to seek the truth, free from dogma and doctrinaire teaching. It believes that "labor and farmer movements constitute the most concrete, vital forces working for human freedom and that by exerting a wise social control they can bring in a new era of justice and human brotherhood."

Brookwood seeks to provide working men and working women with an education which best fits them for labor service. It is Brookwood's task to train economists and statisticians; journalists, writers, and teachers; and organizers, workers, and speakers for the labor and farmer movements in order that these movements may have people coming from their own ranks, with their own point of view, who are fully capable, by training and knowledge, of exercising a genuine statesmanship. Brookwood, then, is virtually a professional school to educate workers to work in the workers' movements. It frankly aims NOT to educate the workers out of their class.

The length of the full course is two years, but arrangements have been made for a third year of post-graduate work of a specialized character. In addition to this, shorter courses are offered for students who cannot attend the full time. A correspondence course will also be given for trade union secretaries.

The curriculum is founded mainly upon the social sciences (economics, sociology, government, history, etc.) but also includes English, literature, and a course made up of a series of short courses in the other sciences. Special lectures are given in journalism, workers' education, and law as it affects the workers.

The principal course is one in social problems running through the entire two years with history taught as ancillary to that course. By the minute consideration of definite, concrete *problems* (such as unemployment, business cycles, the individual vs. the state, etc.) the student acquires knowledge of these sciences. Time is also spent in

the statistical laboratory so that theories can be tested by facts through the use of the statistical method. In this way mathematics are studied in connection with the more gripping actualities of the workers' lives. In order, too, that the workers may analyze, understand, and criticize financial statements as well as to enable them to appreciate financial problems, accountancy is studied in the same course. Provision is made for original research by individuals and groups, especially in the line of field work.

In the history courses at Brookwood, consideration is given to the social forces at work through the masses rather than to the political and militaristic activities of the ruling classes. Partly in connection with social problems and partly in connection with history, a course in labor is given which takes up not only the history of labor and labor organizations, but the problems of labor, labor tactics, and the future of labor.

The cultural side of life, however, is not neglected. Courses in English and literature provide much of this while at the same time students are learning the art of self-expression. Extra-curriculum activities are also organized so as to help to a full appreciation of the fine things in music, art, and letters, especially the drama.

One of the significant features at Brookwood, is the community living which itself presents and offers opportunity to work out the problems of democracy as they arise from day to day. Nor are any persons set apart as exclusively manual workers. All participate in the daily tasks. Faculty and students perform the jobs that call for attention, from cooking to wood-cutting and from farming to dish-washing. The importance and dignity of hand work and head work are both fully recognized. The supreme power of the college is the community meeting wherein each member of the community has one vote, faculty and students alike, but as the faculty defers to student opinion in matters pertaining to them, so the students respect the opinion of the faculty in strictly faculty affairs.

No hard and fast age limits have been set. Brookwood seeks students who are old enough to appreciate their responsibilities to their fellow workers and yet young enough so that their training will count for the most not only in the length of their service but in the spirit and ardor which they put into that service.

There is no fixed charge for tuition. Students are expected to pay as much of the actual cost of maintenance as possible and never less than $200.00, which represents the bare cost of food. Trade Unions can establish Brookwood scholarships at the rate of $450.00 per person per annum, for which sum their nominees will be accepted at Brookwood without a further obligation, provided, of course, that such nominees are acceptable to the community. This sum represents the bare cost of food and maintenance.

By the end of a period of three years, it is hoped to reduce the cost per student by increasing the number of students to a point where the entire cost of maintaining Brookwood can be met through Trade Union scholarships. In the meantime, a guarantee fund for the construction of new buildings and to meet any possible deficit in Trade Union scholarships is to be raised in order to launch the undertaking.

A labor co-operating committee, consisting of John Fitzpatrick, president of Chicago Federation of Labor; James H. Maurer, president, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; Rose Schneiderman, of the New York Women's Trade Union League; John Brophy, president of District No. 2 U. M. W. of A.; Charles Kutz, chairman of the International Association of Machinists, Pennsylvania System; and Abraham Lefkowitz of the Teachers' Union of New York City, will have charge of laying down the broad policies of the new college and will also have supervision of the personnel. The college will be 100 per cent organized. Every person connected with the college will be a card man in the organized teachers' union.

No examinations are required for entrance to Brookwood. So long as vacancies exist, all suitable applicants will be received on a probation basis. A student becomes a regular member of the community as soon as he has demonstrated a sufficient ability and earnestness as well as a comprehension of what it means to be a Brookwood student.

The college will open in the fall of 1921, the school year being approximately 30 weeks.

Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry.

As this pamphlet goes to press, an interesting and significant experiment in workers' education is being inaugurated at Bryn Mawr

College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. A summer school for women workers in industry to continue from June 15th to August 10th will be held in this girls' college. The requirements for admission in this summer school are only ability to read and write English, and a common school education or its equivalent, with good health and a sound physical condition. No one under eighteen is admitted, and candidates between the ages of 20 and 35 are given preference.

Only women workers in industry are admitted as students. Women workers are defined as "women who are working with the tools of their trade, and not in a supervisory capacity." For the first summer, students will not be admitted who are engaged as teachers, office workers, saleswomen in stores and shops, workers in the household, and waitresses. The seventy young industrial women who will receive scholarships of $200 each, which pays the entire expenses of the term, will be recruited from the trade unions, the industrial clubs of the Young Women's Christian Association, and the National Federation of Girls' Clubs. For the purpose of the scholarships, the country is divided into seven regional districts, each of which is awarded five scholarships. Large industrial centers such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston, will receive five additional scholarships, and 15 remaining scholarships will be distributed at large. Besides these, there are also 11 scholarships for a "Leaders' Group," distributed throughout the country. The funds for the scholarships are being raised by the alumnae of the college and from contributions of public-spirited men and women.

A joint administrative committee made up of representatives of women workers in industry, of representatives of the college and of the Bryn Mawr Alumnae Association, states that the object of the school is:

> . . . to offer young women of character and ability a fuller special education and an opportunity to study liberal subjects, in order that they may widen their influence in the industrial world, help in the coming social reconstruction, and increase the happiness and usefulness of their own lives.
>
> It is hoped that the Summer School for Women Workers in Industry will demonstrate in a concrete way that workers' educational movements in this country and abroad may be carried still further and may be developed into systematic intellectual work through courses of study

pursued for a number of consecutive weeks in academic surroundings of beauty, under the same favorable conditions of complete freedom from economic anxiety and domestic care which college students enjoy.

The courses of instruction laid out for the first summer are divided into the following groups:—(1) Industrial Group, including economics, labor, and subjects of special interest to industrial workers; (2) the Social Group, including literature, history, government, law and psychology; (3) the Culture Group, including a course in art, and the study of pictures and architecture. Physical hygiene, recreation, swimming, dancing and walking are also provided in the program for the summer's work. The residence halls and the entire college equipment have been placed at the disposal of the working girl students during the summer.

Miss Mary Anderson, director of the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, and a member of the Joint Administrative Committee, in speaking in regard to the college, declared:

> From the students in the Bryn Mawr School we hope to develop leaders among the women workers who will be a vital factor in broadening the life and environment as well as bettering the working conditions of their sisters. On the other hand, the women workers will make a definite contribution to the educational standard of the colleges. They are the exponents, the concrete embodiment of the result of existing economic conditions. The different quality of this knowledge, and the utilization of it in our educational systems, is full of possibilities. Bryn Mawr College has perceived this. Her leadership in the establishment of this school is full of significance and hope for broader future basis in public education.

Porto Rico.

Rafael Alonso, general secretary of the Free Federation of the Workingmen of Porto Rico (affiliated to the A. F. of L.), has reported to us, as follows:—

> "We have no labor college. Union halls are used as conference and educational places. Matters relative to the history of the world labor movement; efficiency in trade unions and among the workers, individually; English and Spanish classes, are the subjects dealt with."

The address of Rafael Alonso is in care of the Free Federation of the Workingmen of Porto Rico, Box 270, San Juan, Porto Rico.

Summary

Such are some of the experiments in workers' education. No facile generalizations can be made: the facts are too few, the history is too recent. All that can be said is that approximately 10,000 workers are studying with some regularity in classes. These classes are an attempt to carry on quiet intensive group work. They find their strength in being local, regional. They do not attempt to organize a "national movement" or "drive." As they slowly grow, they will create a new trade union leadership, and will transform the thinking of the rank and file.

WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA

Ever since labor education began to be promoted in more than one locality in the United States, the persons active in this movement keenly felt the need for the establishment of some central agency which would coordinate the various attempts, define the aims and objects, stimulate the undertakings and in general guide them in their work by pooling their combined experiences. The road was slow and uncertain, and the wisdom and cooperation of all the pioneers, each of whom was groping, were urgently needed. There were a desire and a necessity for consultation and for exchanges of ideas and experiences. The delegations of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have at several recent A. F. of L. conventions brought up the issue of workers' education nationally.

The first attempt at such coordination and the establishment of a National Information Bureau was made at an informal conference in Chicago on July 6, 1920, during the Convention of the Farmer-Labor Party, by a group of persons interested in labor education. J. M. Budish, Chairman of the United Labor Education Committee, was elected secretary at that time. .

On New Year's eve, 1921, another group of persons actively engaged in labor education, representing about a dozen enterprises, gathered at the Civic Club in New York City and organized the Temporary National Workers' Education Bureau of America. Abraham Epstein, General Secretary of the Department of Education of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, was elected secretary-treasurer. It was then decided to issue a call for a conference on labor education, on April 2nd and 3rd. It was also decided to send out a questionnaire to all the educational enterprises dealing with such important questions as the problem of control of labor colleges, aims and objects, teachers, students' registration, attendance, text books used, etc.

The conference which was held in the auditorium of the New School for Social Research, New York City, was a significant and promising gathering. Trade unionists, teachers and students met there and founded the Workers' Education Bureau of America, a

W. E. B., as Britain has a W. E. A. (Workers' Educational Association). Twelve labor officials, 34 trade unionists, and other workers, 20 students, 52 teachers, and many other persons interested in workers' education attended, making a group of over two hundred. This first gathering brought together 135 from New York, 30 from Pennsylvania, 15 from Massachusetts, and 6 scattered. Thus the organization of the group into an educational bureau, although at first regional, will, it is hoped, grow into a nationally representative movement.

The object of the Bureau is to act as a clearing house of information; an organization for publicity; a register of teachers; a laboratory on text books and other classroom materials, on syllabi of courses and on methods of pedagogy; an agency for the collection and coordination of statistics.

The Constitution of the W. E. B. adopted at the recent conference gives the purpose of the Bureau as follows:

> To collect and to disseminate information relative to efforts at education conducted by any part of organized labor; to co-ordinate and assist in every possible manner the educational work now carried on by the organized workers, and to stimulate the creation of additional enterprises in labor education throughout the United States.

What was accomplished by the conference was a closer affiliation of workers' education with the American labor movement. The garment industry has conducted successful experiments for years. But this conference was unusual in the presence also of machinists, bricklayers, teamsters, street railwaymen, miners. This achievement was due to the interest of such men as James H. Maurer, John Brophy and William F. Kehoe. The focusing of this interest into a policy-making conference, with an effective program, is the persistent work of Fannia M. Cohn, and of Abraham Epstein.

What was revealed by the conference was an uninformed but eager group, ready for the next step. The need is for information on how to form groups, what to teach, how to teach, presentation of material, and for ideas on what workers' education is, its object, its method. Most of the fundamental questions went unanswered. There is no outstanding figure in the labor or educational group devoting his life to making this one thing prevail. Instead we have tired, busy people, serving on many committees, active in a dozen causes. As a teacher

in Pennsylvania labor work states: "The greatest need of the movement is for devoted and enthusiastic propagandists of the idea of workers' education."

The success of the tentative bureau rests with the executive committee. James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, is chairman, and Spencer Miller, Jr., secretary, 465 West 23rd Street, New York City. The other members of the committee are John Brophy, President of District 2 of the United Mine Workers of America; Harry Dana, of the Trade Union College of Boston; Fannia M. Cohn, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; William F. Kehoe, secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity; Harry Russell of the Metal Trades Council of Springfield, Mass.; Frieda Miller of the Trade Union College of Philadelphia, and J. B. Salutsky, educational director of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The following organizations and individuals are eligible for membership:

1. International and national labor unions; State Federations of Labor and other State Labor organizations; City Central Labor Unions and District organizations or Councils; local labor unions, and bona-fide cooperative associations.

2. Labor educational enterprises.

3. Members of local unions, teachers, organizers, educators, and other interested persons may join the Bureau as Associate Members. They shall receive all bulletins and such information as the Bureau may issue.

The annual membership dues are as follows:

$25 for international and national unions; $20 for State Federations of Labor and other State labor organizations; $15 for city central unions, district councils and labor educational enterprises; $5 for local unions; $2 for associate members.

The proceedings of the first conference will soon be published in a pamphlet, obtainable from the secretary of the W. E. B.

SUGGESTIONS ON STARTING CLASSES AND INTERESTING STUDENTS

Prepared by ABRAHAM EPSTEIN, *who organized workers' classes in Pennsylvania industrial communities.*

How can an interest in workers' education be awakened? What is the best way of starting a class? How is a class taught? What methods hold interest?

There is no cut and dried method that could be laid down in answer to these questions. The problem is one dealing with human beings. Even if there were definite methods it would be presumptuous on our part to suggest them as the best possible. Up to the present writing there has been little information gathered and the experiences have been based upon a short period of time. It may not be amiss, however, to present some of the processes and plans that have been used successfully in organizing workers' classes in typical industrial centers in this country. The suggestions are made without any sense of finality.

Approach.

Perhaps the first step of importance in organizing workers' educational classes is the problem of how and whom to approach in order to present the idea of workers' education. From what little experience can be gathered, it appears that the best means of approach in a typical industrial center is the City Central Labor Body. The Central Labor Union is best because it is usually made up of the most active members of the individual locals who can be counted upon to report back to their own organizations. The C. L. U. also generally has a great influence in the labor movement of a particular locality and anything endorsed by it has weight among the locals. An effort should be made to interest a few of the delegates to the Central Labor Union in workers' education before the meeting.

Appeal.

The fundamental requirements in an appeal in behalf of workers' education are the faith and enthusiasm of a few men or women. The fact that only a few are conscious of the significance of this movement should not deter those active few from presenting their ideas. Some of the most successful experiments were sponsored by only a few men who had sufficient enthusiasm and devotion. A few

suggestions as to the appeal made by James H. Maurer and the writer in organizing the Pennsylvania educational work are herewith presented. In appearing before a labor union in behalf of workers' education they pointed out:

1. The benefits derived from such work by the British labor movement and a comparison of the effectiveness of that movement with our own.

2. Education, at the present time, is only one-sided, and is controlled by one class. The schools and colleges of today present definitions of such words as "justice," "truth," "loyalty," "duty," "patriotism," etc., in a way that suits the employers of labor, and not the organized workers. All forms of education in existence today—schools, press, churches, the movies, etc.—are presenting this one kind of education. Instances are cited of teachers of long experience dismissed as soon as they identify themselves with organized labor. The experiences of the Interchurch World Movement are recalled when it attempted to present the truth in favor of labor in the steel mills.

3. The emphasis of today is laid upon money values rather than human values; the well-known men in America are men of money and power and not the men of science, art, or social vision.

4. Many of the employers have had the benefit of a college education, and always hire the best brains of the country to help them, but most wage-earners were not privileged to secure even an elementary school education. Benefits have been derived by organized labor from connections with such men as Glenn Plumb, Jett Lauck, etc.

5. Although the employers have had the benefit of education, they still feel the necessity of keeping in touch with new events by bringing men of prominence to their clubs and luncheons and having talks on important subjects. Thus, the employers realize the necessity for further study while labor has had neither fundamental education nor discussions on present-day problems.

6. Just as one can be a good American only after he knows something of the ideals and history of America, so one cannot be a good trade union man without knowing something of the history, struggles, and ideals of the labor movement.

7. Labor education is especially necessary at this time, when the struggle between capital and labor is becoming sharper; when an attempt is made to crush unionism altogether. Organized labor is spreading out into the fields of cooperation; into banking, into controlling its own press, etc. These constructive ventures demand a trained and self-disciplined rank and file.

An organization committee of three or five active persons should then be appointed. No person should be appointed on such a committee who cannot devote at least one or two evenings a week to this

work. The committee should secure a list of the meeting places of the local unions and apportion the work so that each member of the committee can visit those locals which meet nearest his place of residence and on such evenings as suit him best. Union organizers who are really devoted to education can do effective work in stimulating interest.

Funds.

There are many methods of financing labor education. There is no difficulty in raising the money, once an interest has been aroused in the significance of the work. When local instructors can be secured, student fees may at times cover most of the expenses. When local teachers are lacking or student fees are insufficient, local unions should be visited and appealed to. From what experience we have had, it was found that but few locals refuse a contribution to workers' education when the appeal is presented to them. Some labor schools have had a specified affiliation fee of about ten dollars which was charged each local union. In the smaller cities, however, it was found that it was best to have no specified amount. Unions have usually been found to become generous contributors as soon as the work is appreciated. An assessment of one cent per month a member is also suggested by some local unions as a measure of the amount of their contribution and as a means of securing funds. A plan of assessing a certain sum by the central labor union to each affiliated local for education is also going to be experimented with, soon. Part of the funds, it has also been found, can be raised through entertainments, such as dances, lectures, raffles, etc. This, however, should be used only as a last means. In our experience a trade union college, financed on money from local unions, is preferable to one financed on money from international unions or even central labor bodies. The workers take a much keener interest if the work is financed by their own local money. In short, the best way seems to be that the central labor body should take the initiative in voting sympathy with workers' education, and in bearing the expense of promotion, but that the classes should be supported mainly by the local unions.

A circuit rider, an itinerant preacher, who will push the idea in industrial communities may be used. He will form a local committee and sow pamphlets. Later, he will swing round in his circuit and

revisit these experiments. An enthusiastic local educational director elected by the class can be counted upon to carry on meetings in the absence of the travelling teacher.

If a group is not ready for regular class-room work, it may often be drawn into current events discussions. Their interest in "live topics" may lead them into study.

Classes held before business meetings sometimes get attendance which would not be called out to an educational meeting alone.

Earnestness, drive and imagination cannot fail to create classes.

How to Maintain the Interest of the Students.

It is obvious that the holding of a class together will depend largely upon the teacher's personality and methods of instruction as well as the subject matter. In the class room he must provide the students an opportunity to express themselves. Putting up questions to the students, and asking them to make reports on certain books or articles have helped to hold students. The teacher should endeavor as much as possible to become familiar with the students, learn something of their individual traits, and take an interest in their particular trade and labor problems. He should make use, as much as possible, of charts, pictures, and other illustrations, which visualize the subject he tries to cover. Pamphlets, outlines of study, and mimeographed reading lists should be freely used. Time in class is precious. Preparation for the hour or two of meeting cannot be too thorough. Material upon which aroused interest can feed should be given to the students.

In assigning readings to students, the teacher should make every effort to bring the books with him and give them out to the students in the class. Students in workers' schools are often unfamiliar and very timid in the ways of getting books from the public libraries. The reading habit can be stimulated by having boxes of books available at local meetings and even at the office where each union member pays his dues. Frequent conferences between the students of different classes help greatly to instill enthusiasm in the class. If possible, debates or "get-togethers" should be arranged. Such social functions may also help to maintain the interest of the group. Another suggestion is to have the students report back to their local unions the subject discussed in the class. This would stimulate the attention of the students and would spread the idea continuously.

Chapter III

A FEW FOREIGN EXPERIMENTS

Workers' Education in Britain.

The spirit of adult education has been stated by Philip Snowden: "I would rather have better education given to the masses of the working classes than the best for a few. 'O God, make no more giants; elevate the race.' "

Adult education is one expression of social ferment and the desire for a better social order. Its purpose is to lift the rank and file and to train leaders. It is emphatically not the purpose to lift the workers into the middle class.

The Need.

Professor Henry Clay writes us out of long experience in British workers' classes:—

"I do not think adult education is a substitute for secondary education missed in adolescence: it is a different thing. Therefore I should say that the University Tutorial Classes have revealed a need, and indicated a way of satisfying it, for which no systematic provision has been made in the past. Yet it is a need as normal as the need of elementary education in childhood and secondary education in adolescence: *the need of adults for opportunities of systematic study of adult problems.*"

Rules.

The British experience has revealed certain principles in policy and rules in strategy.

The desire for adult education must come from the workers. This desire can be stimulated by appeals and by successful examples.

Controversial subjects (in economics, history and literature) must be included in the curriculum. "No class can afford to disregard either Marshall or Marx," says Albert Mansbridge.

Classes, not lectures, are the method of instruction. The second half of the period is devoted to rapid-fire questions by the students. Each student is a teacher, each teacher is a student.

The classes are run by the students, who "approve" of the tutor, select subjects, and help to formulate the syllabus. There is equality between teachers and taught, with no touch of upper-class philanthropy.

At all points, the workers must share the control and management of adult education.

The courses favor "a liberal as against a merely bread-and-butter education." The courses are non-vocational. The subjects selected by the students are economics, history, literature, natural science, modern languages, music, drama and art.

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

(Known as the W. E. A.)

The W. E. A. was the resultant of many movements. These were Mechanics Institutes, University Extension, evening schools, adult schools, the People's College, the Cooperatives, Christian Socialists, the settlements. It was an attempt to bring together scholarship and labor. It was founded in 1903 by a group of trade unionists, cooperators and university men. The membership of the W. E. A. in 1920 was 277 branches, 2,760 affiliated bodies (trade unions, coops, universities), and 20,703 individual members. The individual subscription is usually one shilling a year to a branch, and to a district usually half a crown.

Tutorial Classes.

The chief expression of the W. E. A. has been tutorial classes. These are organized by the W. E. A. and self-administered under university Joint Committees, consisting of an equal number of university and working class representatives. The Joint Committee, aided by grants from the state, is the controlling authority of the tutorial class. The classes are financed partly by the universities, party by grants from the Board of Education and local education authorities. These sources have been supplemented by the Gilchrist Trustees and the W. E. A.

The class chooses the subject of study and approves the tutor sent by the Joint Committee. The student pledges himself to attend for two hours a week—one hour for the lecture, one hour for discussion—

during twenty-four weeks a year for three years, and to write each fortnight an essay. The tutorial classes were started in 1907. In eleven years, 8,000 students had entered the classes. In 1919-20 there were 229 classes, with 5,320 students.

Cost.

The Board of Education gives £45 a class for each of three years. The Oxford Committee held that a tutor could undertake five classes, and pays £80-£100 a class, or £400-£500 a year for full work. Cambridge pays £72 a class. London pays £80. There are twenty-three universities and colleges interested. The fee paid by a member of a tutorial class averages 2 shillings 6 pence for twenty-four meetings. The universities were to be responsible for one half the tutor's salaries and travelling expenses. Oxford has met this. Elsewhere less than one half. The universities are putting up £5,000 a year. Local authorities give £2,000 a year.

Of 303 students in the Oxford classes in 1917-18 fifty-three were trade union officials, twenty-five "coop" officers, eleven on local government boards. A class must not contain under Board of Education regulations more than thirty students and usually has less.

An analysis of contribution to tutorial classes for 1908-13 shows:

From universities	£17,440
Board of Education	£12,000
Local education authorities	£ 6,100
Other sources (Gilchrist Trustees, Cooperative unions, Trades Union Congress, W. E. A.)	£ 2,000
	£37,540

(at $4.80 to £, this is $180,192)

The contribution from the Board of Education is now based on a block grant of £45 a class. This means nearly £7,000 a year.

Books.

So far as their means will allow the students purchase their own books. "Generally it is found possible to arrange that one textbook of moderate price should be possessed by every student; for instance, in many classes all the students had Townsend Warner's

'Industrial History of England.' In every class copies of the principal books necessary are provided. It is usual for the university to which the course is attached to send to the centre a box of books. In addition to this there are available at some centres those books which are in the public library. It is much to be regretted that free libraries do not seem, at any rate in many cases, adequately to meet the demand."

The W. E. A. has a central library of fair size, equipped to supply some of the books required and there is a Central Library for students under independent trustees which is prepared to supply any book needed by a worker student.

Attendance.

The proportion of attendances made to attendances possible is usually 75% or over. The average composition of a class is twenty-five. Of 5,320 in attendance, about 3,600 are men and 1,700 women, There is no certificate, no examination (except the fortnightly essay), no formality. Freedom of discussion is fundamental.

Effect on Teachers and Students.

How adult workers can benefit a teacher and his teaching is revealed in R. H. Tawney's "Agrarian Problem of the Sixteenth Century," and Henry Clay's "Economics"—"both of them based on lectures given in tutorial classes."

After an investigation, A. L. Smith, now Master of Balliol College, wrote:

> "Twenty-five per cent of the essays examined by him after second year's work in two classes, and first year's work in six classes, were equal to the work done by students who gained first classes in the Final Schools of Modern History. He was astonished, not so much at the quality as at the quantity of the quality of the work done."

The group of persons around Arnold Freemen, who made a Study of Sheffield, state:

> "The W. E. A. reaches out directly to no workers except those who belong to the well-equipped class, and only to the best of these."

One of the founders of the W. E. A. (Mansbridge) says:

> "Such efforts are not worth undertaking unless they can be maintained for the first year on a pound or two. All movements ought to be small and poor at the commencement."

He adds that large and successful meetings at the beginning are bad. A small, keen, critical group is best in organizing the work.

One of the useful results of the W. E. A. has been in developing the social consciousness of Oxford, Cambridge, and the modern universities. As the result, there is less bitterness in the feeling of the workers towards the universities, and less arrogance in the mind of scholars towards the labor movement.

Also, by 1913, it could be said, "In the coming discussion in the country on the future of national education, over 5,000 well trained working men and women will take their part."

The tutorial classes of the W. E. A. were the first whole-hearted recognition of Adult Education.

A Class.

In the famous pamphlet "Education and the Working Class" it is recalled that Erasmus came to England to meet his fellow-scholars. He visited the two great universities of Oxford and Cambridge. If he came again today, he would go to the Potteries, to the heart of the industrial district, and to the working class.

> "In one of the Five Towns there is a block of school buildings occupying a vacant plot by the side of a factory. Four great ovens, like giant champagne bottles, overlook the premises, and seem to leer wickedly into the playground. When Erasmus visits it at night, one of the rooms is still lighted. Some twenty-five men and women are gathered there, of various ages and trades, but predominantly of the working class. They have come together, he is told, for a university tutorial class in philosophy, which meets from 8 to 10. But they have come early; for it is not merely a class, but a club and a college; several of them are anxious, too, to have a private word with the tutor. The tutor, he learns, is an Oxford graduate with a good honours degree in his subject, but, if he talks to him, he will find that he has learnt most of his philosophy in discussions with working people. For of the two hours of a tutorial class, the first only is used for exposition; the second is sacred to discussion. So that a class consists, as has been said, not of twenty-five students and a tutor, but of twenty-six students who learn together. There is also a library in the room of some fifty or sixty volumes bearing on the subject; at least, the box is there, but the books are almost all in use. But the class, which is a democratic organism, has its own elected librarian and secretary, and from them he can learn all that he wishes to know. He will find that the books are not only diligently read, but form a basis for essays which are a regular part of the class work. He

will discover how various and vexatious are the obstacles that industrial life sets in the way of this new type of university student—the ravages of overtime, the anxieties of unemployment, the suspicions of foremen and managers, the difficulties of obtaining quiet for reading and writing. He will hear of one student, nearly blind, who came regularly to class and made pathetic attempts to do his paper-work in large letters on a sheet of wallpaper; of another who found it quietest to go early to bed and rise again after midnight for an hour or two of study; of another who, joining a class at sixty-nine, attended regularly for six years until the very week of his death. And in the discussion, if he stays for it, he will hear the old problems of philosophy first raised in Plato (who is still used as a text-book) thrashed out anew from the living experience of grown men and women."

RUSKIN COLLEGE

In 1899 Ruskin College was established by three Americans—Mr. and Mrs. Walter Vrooman and Charles Beard. The Governing Body was constituted of university men and trade union leaders. The location of Ruskin College is Oxford. Its purpose is the provision of education for adult members of the working class in history, economics, political science, literature, and other branches of the social sciences. It seeks to offer "a training in subjects which are essential for working class leadership."

Attendance.

Six hundred students have passed through the college in one and two year courses. There are accommodations for fifty a year. More than 10,000 have carried on the correspondence courses.

Cost.

The fees charged are £65 a year for a college year of thirty-three weeks. The trade unions contribute £750 a year to Ruskin. Ruskin College requires an income of £4,000 a year. It has recently appealed to the public for an endowment of £76,000. The appeal is signed by such well-known members of the community as Arthur Balfour, Sir Auckland Geddes, David Lloyd George, Sir Robert Horne, and Violet Markham.

Doubts.

In 1909 certain of the students, led by George Sims, and Frank Hodges, "revolted," and established the Central Labor College (now

the Labor College). They believed that Ruskin was imbibing university atmosphere, instead of steering a working class revolutionary movement.

In 1910, Ruskin was reorganized, and the administration was placed in the hands of working class representatives, with three consultative members.

The location at Oxford, and the fact that individual subscriptions are necessary to its maintenance, have created a "feeling" against Ruskin in the mind of the "left" of labor. But thoroughly representative leaders of labor are on the governing council—such persons as Margaret Bondfield, Ben Tillett and T. E. Naylor.

LABOR COLLEGE

The sub-warden says:

> "The Labor College teaches the workman to look for the causes of social evils in the material foundation of society; that these causes are economic; that their elimination involves economic changes of such a character as to lead to the eradication of capitalist economy."

The instruction is based largely upon the teachings of Karl Marx.

Control.

The college is based upon the recognition of the antagonism of interests between capital and labor. The Labor College is owned and controlled by the Board of labor organizations, establishing scholarships. There are three persons on the Board from the South Wales Miners' Federation, and three from the National Union of Railwaymen. The college costs £3,200 a year, and the income comes from scholarship fees raised by the unions. The cost of a scholarship is £125 a year. The students are sent, in most cases, for a period of two years.

Attendance.

The Labor College (which is situated in London) has forty residential students.

One thousand students attend the local lecture courses, which are classes held in South Wales, Lancashire, Northumberland, Durham, and industrial centres. There are correspondence courses and lec-

tures by post. All told, the Labor College reaches six thousand students a year.

In 1908, the Plebs League was formed of ex-students and supporters. It numbers now nearly 800 paid up members, and 30 branches.

In 1909, came the revolt from Ruskin. For two years the college remained in Oxford.

In 1911, it moved to London.

The Plebs League continues "to further the interests of independent working-class education as a partisan effort to improve the position of labor at present, and ultimately to assist in the abolition of wage-slavery."

"I can promise to be candid but not impartial," says "The Plebs," organ of the Plebs League.

And again it has said:

"We want neither your crumbs nor your condescension, your guidance nor your glamor, your tuition nor your tradition."

One of the promoters of the Plebs League and of the Labor College is J. F. Horrabin, who prepared the maps for H. G. Wells's "The Outline of History."

Two of the famous graduates of the Labor College are Frank Hodges, Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, and Concemore Thomas Cramp, industrial organizer of the National Union of Railwaymen.

Plans are under way to increase residential facilities so that 70 students can be accommodated. The miners and railwaymen have authorized an expenditure of $100,000 (£21,000).

A compliment from a hostile source to the efficacy of the Labor College is that of the "London Times" of October 7, 1919:

> "The influential men (in strikes) are not even Bolshevists. They are middle-class intellectuals and workmen who have been through one or other of the labor colleges, where they have imbibed theories about the social and industrial order which seem to them perfectly true and wise because they do not know enough to detect the fallacies. These men who are young, are most numerous among the railwaymen and miners, and this is the chief reason why these industries are the special, though not the only, hot beds of disorder."

BELGIAN WORKERS' EDUCATION

The Belgian Central Board for Workers' Education was founded in 1911. It is one third endowed, and two thirds supported by labor contributions. The Board is made up of representatives of the Labor Party, the labor unions and the cooperative societies. It exists to stimulate local effort. It induces labor organizations to use their own money for educational work. Its purpose is, according to its own constitution, to develop and coordinate all institutions that aim at "providing the workers with such knowledge and qualities as will facilitate their emancipation as a class in every field."

Among the many enterprises of the Board, it is successfully working out a labor school system. This applies to the three groups of workers (defined in the opening pages of this pamphlet) by elementary local schools with cycles of lecture-lessons, district schools, and higher national schools. The national schools are specialized into trade union, cooperative, socialist, political, a school for municipal councillors, and so on.

This Belgian experiment is thus in its beginnings more systematized than the older British experiment. It recognizes more frankly the differences in the capacity of the students. On the other hand it has not had the long test of the British practice. An admirable account of the Belgian experiment was given by Dr. Henry de Man, the Belgian labor leader, director of the Belgian Board of Labor Education, in the "Survey" for September 1, 1920. His summary is so well done and so important that it would be an act of impertinence to rewrite or shorten it. The title of his article is "How Belgian Labor is Educating Itself." Elsewhere he has stated what labor education means in the following way:

> "When labor strikes, it says to its master: I shall no longer work at your command. When it votes for a party of its own it says: I shall no longer vote at your command. When it creates its own classes and colleges, it says: I shall no longer think at your command. Labor's challenge to education is the most fundamental of the three."

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Labour College (Until recently Central Labour College), 13 Penywern Road, London, S. W. 5.

Plebs League. (Graduates and students of Labour College.) Mrs. W. Horrabin, 11a Penywern Road, Earl's Court, London, S.W. 5.

Ruskin College, Oxford, Secretary. Sam Smith, Ruskin College, Oxford, England.

Workers' Educational Association. General Secretary. J. M. Mactavish, 16 Harpur Street, London, W.C. 1.

World Association for Adult Education, 13 John St., Adelphi, London, W. C. 2.

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United States—Directory

Workers' Education Bureau of America, 465 West 23rd Street, New York City. Spencer Miller, Jr., Sec'y.

District of Columbia—Washington

Trade Union College of Washington, D. C., 1423 New York Ave., Washington, D. C. Mary C. Dent, Sec'y.

Illinois—Chicago

Chicago Federation of Labor, Educational Council, 166 W. Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

National Women's Trade Union League, Training School for Women Labor Leaders, 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. Alice Henry, Educational Director.

Maryland—Baltimore

Dr. Broadus Mitchell, Department of Political Economy, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland.

Massachusetts—Amherst

Amherst College, Classes for Workers, Amherst, Mass. F. Stacy May, Sec'y.

Boston

Trade Union College of Boston, 634 Little Building, Boston, Mass. Mabel Gillespie, Sec'y.

Michigan—Detroit

Workers' Educational Association, 2101 Gratiot Ave. Thomas Smock, Sec'y.

Minnesota—Duluth

Work Peoples' College, Box 166, Riverside Station, Duluth, Minn. George Humon, Principal.

Minneapolis

Workers' College of Minneapolis, 225 South Fifth Street, Minneapolis, Minn. Edward Maurer, Registrar.

St. Paul

St. Paul Labor College, 75 West 7th Street, St. Paul, Minn. S. S. Tingle, Sec'y.

New York State—Katonah

Brookwood School, Katonah, N. Y. William M. Fincke, Educational Director.

New York City

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, National Education Department, 31 Union Square, New York City. J. B. Salutsky, Director.

Cooperative League of America, Classes in Cooperation, 2 West 13th Street, New York City. A. D. Warbasse, Educational Sec'y.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Educational Department, 31 Union Square, New York City. Fannia M. Cohn, Sec'y; Alexander Fichandler, Educational Director.

International Ladies' Garment Workers, Local 25, 16 West 21st Street, New York City. Elsie Glück, Educational Director.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street, New York City. Harry Wander, Chairman.

Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, New York City. Algernon Lee, Director; Bertha Mailly, Sec'y.

Trade Union College of Greater New York, 208 West 14th Street, New York City. Mrs. A. Riley Hale, Sec'y.

United Labor Education Committee, 41 Union Square, New York City. J. M. Budish, Chairman.

Rochester

Rochester Labor College, 476 Clinton Ave., N. Paul Blanshard, Educational Director.

Ohio—Cleveland

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Workers' University, 1024 Walnut Street, Cleveland, Ohio.

Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania Labor Education Committee, c/o Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, Commonwealth Trust Bldg., Harrisburg, Pa.

Allentown

Allentown Labor School, 205 Carlisle Street. Clarence Moser, Sec'y.

Bethlehem

Bethlehem Labor School, 643 E. North Street. J. W. Hendricks, Sec'y.

Bryn Mawr

Bryn Mawr College, Summer School for Women Workers in Industry. Miss Ernestine Friedmann, Sec'y.

Harrisburg.

Harrisburg Labor School, 1604 Derry Street. J. R. Copenhaver, Sec'y.

Lancaster

Lancaster Labor Class, 150 East Lemon Street. Samuel Hoover, Sec'y.

Pen Argyl

Pen Argyl Labor Class. Samuel Davey, Sec'y.

Philadelphia

Trade Union College of Philadelphia, 1702 Arch Street. Frieda S. Miller, Sec'y.

Pittsburgh

Trade Union College of Pittsburgh, 1718 Lowrie Street, N. S. Sarah Z. Limbach, Sec'y.

Pottsville

Pottsville Labor School, 110 North Center Street. Wm. H. Dietrich, Sec'y.

Reading

Reading Labor School, 139 Greenwich Street. George W. Snyder, Sec'y

Washington—Seattle

Workers College of Seattle, Labor Temple. W. J. Henry, Sec'y.

READING LIST IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

(These books have been found useful in labor classes)

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INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT

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The place of injunctions as a remedy in law—Conditions under which injunctions are ordinarily issued—Questions of irreparable injury—No remedy at law—The use of injunctions in labor disputes—Beginnings in the United States—Railroad cases of the nineties.

Conditions under which injunctions are issued during strikes—Evolution of law of conspiracy in relation to strikes—Strike for improved conditions of employment—Strike for closed shop—Sympathetic strikes—Decision in New York State—Decision of Judge Alton B. Parker in National Protective Association vs. Cummings—Decisions in recent clothing strikes—Duplex Printing Company vs. Deering.

Injunctions in cases of picketing—Element of coercion—Violence, etc. —Picketing during illegal strikes—Status in New York State.

Injunctions in boycott cases—History of boycotts—Classification of boycotts—American Railway case—Buck Stove and Range—Duplex Printing Company—Present legal status of boycotts in the United States —Reasons, legal and economic for legalization of boycotts.

Boycotts

Origin of the word boycott—Definition of boycotts in labor disputes—Classification of boycotts—primary—secondary—compound.

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Methods of enforcing boycotts—Elements of success in boycotting—Character of the commodity boycotted—Character of the firm boycotted—Character of the boycotting union.

The legal status of the boycott—Legal reasons for legality and illegality of boycotting.

Economic reasons for and against making boycotts legal—Result of legality of boycotting—Substitutes for boycotts.

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A brief account is given of the present status of the important economic movements in all the large countries of the world, and a critical and selected list of readings follows the statement of each movement. By Savel Zimand. With introduction by Charles A. Beard. H. W. Wilson Co., N. Y. 1921. $1.80.

PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION; ITS PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE.

A systematic presentation of the methods of conducting personnel departments in industry, including the work of selection, training, industrial health, service work, joint relations, research and community relations. By Ordway Tead and Henry C. Metcalf. McGraw-Hill Book Co., N. Y. 1920. $5.00.

AMERICAN COMPANY SHOP COMMITTEE PLANS.

A simple and conveniently arranged guide to the typical plans for employee representation. The structure and procedure of twenty extant shop committee plans is clearly set forth. 1919. $1.00.

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THE INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT REPORT ON THE STEEL STRIKE OF 1919.

Prepared with the technical assistance of the Bureau of Industrial Research for the Commission of Inquiry of the Interchurch World Movement Harcourt, Brace and Co., N. Y. 1920. Paper, 1.50; cloth, $2.50.

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE STEEL STRIKE.

Supplementary reports of the Steel Strike Commission of Inquiry of the Interchurch World Movement, prepared with the technical assistance of the Bureau of Industrial Research. (In press.) Harcourt, Brace and Co., N. Y. 1921. Paper, $1.50; cloth, $2.50.

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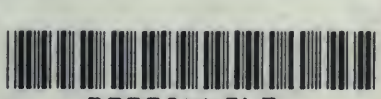

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